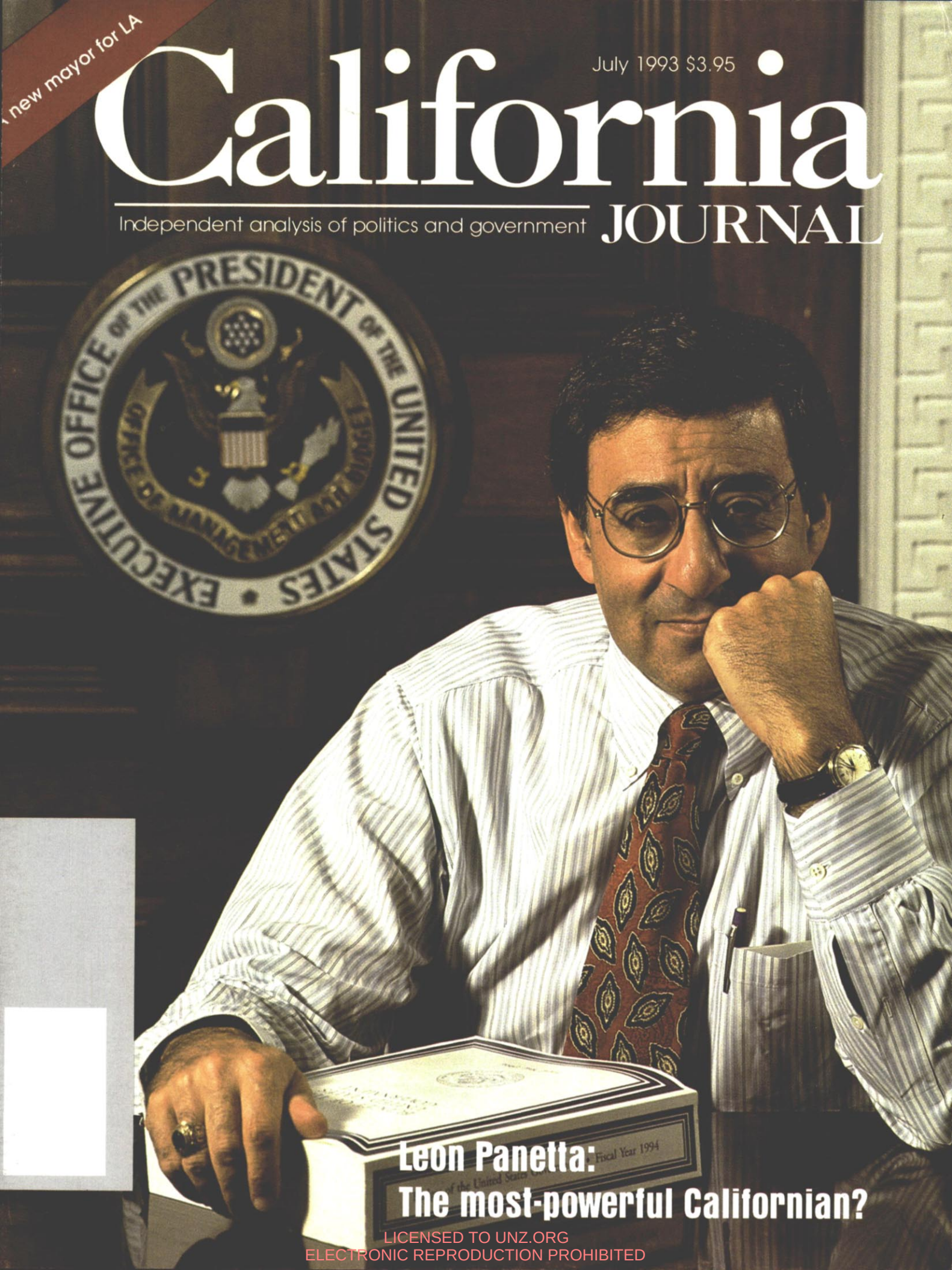
new mayor for LA

July 1993 $3.95

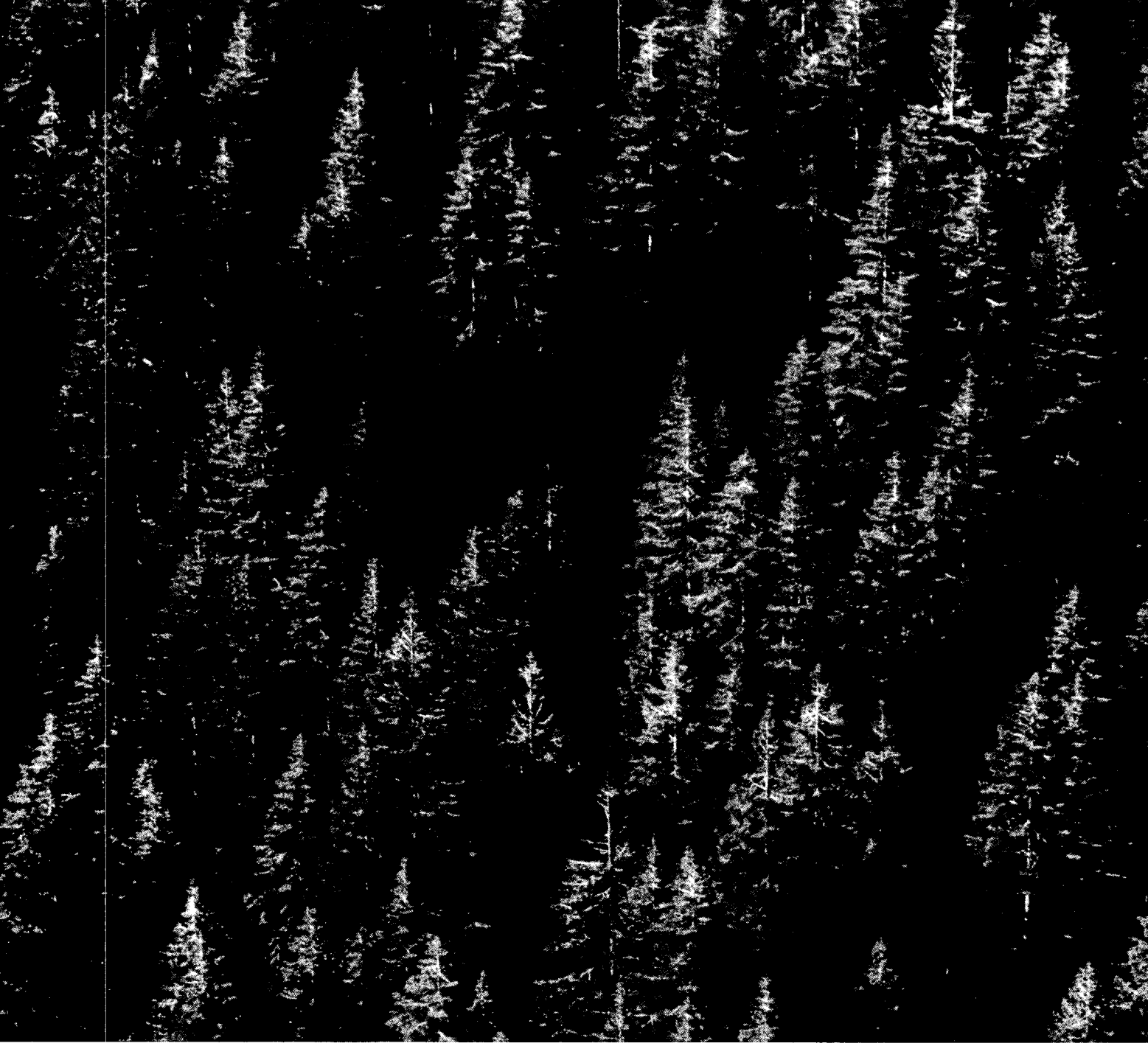
# California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government




## Leon Panetta: The most-powerful Californian?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# One place where our nation's checks and balances are thriving.

Think what you will about the state of the union, but there are still a few things you can count on. Like the state of California's forests.

Here is where stability and balance reign. These lands are protected by the toughest regulations in the nation and the efforts of the California forest products industry. For example, for every tree that's used an average of seven more are planted. We call it sustainable forestry, and it ensures that there will always be enough trees for wood products and thriving healthy forests, as well.

So next time you're concerned about matters of state, take a gentle walk through one of California's forests. The feeling of balance will do you good.

California Forest Products Commission

*For more facts call 916/568-1141.*

© 1993. California Forest Products Commission.

LICENSED TO UMI/ProQuest
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULY 1993
VOLUME XXIV, NUMBER 7

# California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

**Californian with clout** 8
*Leon Panetta, the former California congressman who now heads up President Clinton's Office of Management and Budget, sits at the center of power.* By James Carroll

**A new mayor** 13
*Richard Riordan takes over as Los Angeles' first new mayor in 20 years.* By Mark Katches

**County fairs** 17
*Losing money and support from the state, county fairs look to gambling to pay their bills.* By Justin Zimmerman

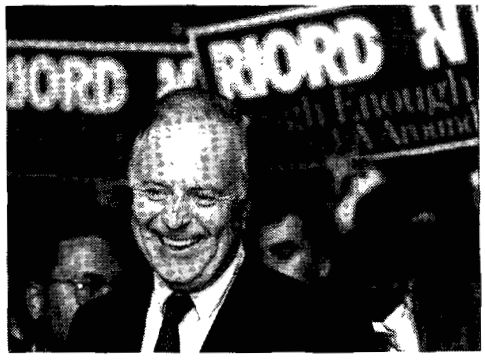
**Ward Valley** 19
*The fate of this Southern California low-grade nuclear waste site could affect how the state Senate goes about confirming administrative appointees.* By Mary Beth Barber

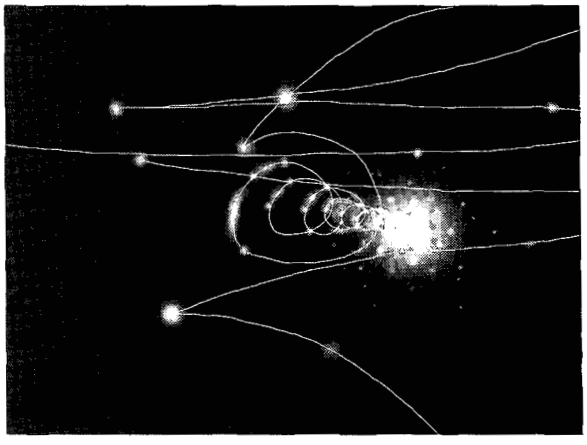
**A house soon divided** 25
*Reapportionment nested two Assembly members into one state Senate district; term limits may turn those nestings into heated rivalries.* By A.G. Block

**Gridlock** 31
*California isn't the only state where a legislature has locked up over critical issues.* By Steve Scott

**SLAC** 37
*Stanford's Linear Accelerator Center is competing for a $200 million upgrade, but others, too, want the money.* By Laura A. Locke

Up Front 4
Rostrum 5
Two-cents Worth 6
Elections 41
Legislature 42
Education 43
Washington Perspective 44





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Up Front

**Senator Dragon?** As mayor and as a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Dianne Feinstein was always known to insiders as a demanding, sometimes brutal boss. That apparently has not changed in Washington. In late April, Copley News Service revealed that five key staffers had quit. By the time the *Los Angeles Times* filched the story (without credit) in June, the count was up to 11 departed, and often embittered, aides. Although the tales of Feinstein's wrath are legion, she insisted it's just sexism at work. "My experience is just that people tend to accept things much more easily very often from a man than from a woman," she told the *Times*. A recent Field Poll, meanwhile, indicates that Californians see Feinstein as the more effective of their two rookie senators. Finally, *Time* magazine last month devised a "Congressional Clout Per Capita Index," using factors such as seniority, committee chairmanships and committee assignments. California ranked 50th, its index rating an invisible 1.49. Top-ranked Montana, meanwhile, had an index rating of 94.83. Thus, said *Time*, one Montanan is worth the votes of 64 Californians.

*(Larry Liebert)*

**Minerva, we are here.** In this era of out-migration from California, seems a Colorado politico has decided to move *to* the Golden State. Matt Noah, a third-party candidate for the U.S. Senate last year, has plopped himself down in Simi Valley. According to the *Denver Post*, Noah captured 22,814 (1.4 percent) of the vote in a five-way race won by Democrat Ben Nighthorse Campbell. Not only has Noah moved to California, he's thinking seriously about getting involved in politics. Says he'd like to run for the local school board. Oh, by the way, his third party was the Christian Pro-Life Party. And the 35-year old Noah's Senate campaign was puncutated by what the *Post* calls "bloody anti-abortion ads" which featured "grisly color photographs of dead and dismembered fetuses." Noah won every court test meant to keep the ads off television, the paper reported. He's since re-registered as a Republican.

**Pete n' Pete.** The most intriguing notion to surface regarding next year's election is a potential primary run at Governor Pete Wilson by former baseball commish Peter Ueberroth, who recently resigned as head of the task force studying ways to rebuild Los Angeles in the wake of the April riots. Some Republicans would probably be glad to see that happen. The Placer County Central Committee, for instance, has called on Pete — Wilson, that is — to step aside in 1994.

**And one and two and step.** A curious scenario played itself out on the Assembly floor last month when Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. allowed Stockton Republican Dean Andal to amend into his AB 1305 language to kill the renter's credit — long a sacred cow for liberal Democrats. As if on cue, several Democrats — Brown ally and Rules Chairman John Burton among them — objected, raising the issue of germaneness. But Brown ruled they were germane, then chastised Democrats for attempting to throw procedural roadblocks in the path of GOP budget proposals. Andal's bill was amended on voice vote — over the shouted protests of Democrats. Brown then denied his own party's request for an electronic vote. Has Willie gone soft on the GOP? Nah. His part in shoving Andal's amendment down his own party's throat most likely was one step in the subtle but public budget dance being conducted between the speaker and Governor Pete Wilson.

**Heads up, Bambi.** Assembly Ways and Means passed a cute, little missive last month — AB 2352, sponsored by rookie Democratic Assemblyman Joe Baca of Rialto. It allows the use of assault weapons on public lands with the permission of the land-management agency. Now, what can one do with an assault weapon on public land? Or private land, for that matter? Shatter 11,000 beer bottles with one burst? That sounds like fun. How about wipe out an entire nest of bunnies without reloading — or even aiming? Or play "slay the Cardinal" among abandoned cars? Besides, is our memory bank fogged, or did a Mike Roos bill a few years back ban the sale of assault weapons? Mixed message? Nah, not from our Legislature.

**Ode to a tarnished Knight**

*There once was a Knight who spent time in the air.*

*The wee little fella flew jets on a dare.*

*He won for Assembly after spending his purse.*

*Too bad his poor brain was stuck in reverse.*

*He passed out a poem so racist and rude,*

*Then couldn't believe that some thought it crude.*

*Nobody backed him, not a soul, not any;*

*Perhaps little Pete took one "G" too many.*

(see story, page 42)

*"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobediance, and heresy, and sects, and printing has divulged them, and brought libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"*
– William Berkeley
Governor of the Crown Colony of Virginia (1682)

*Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the* Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Rostrum
## LETTERS

### Choice in education

Your cover story in California education (see *CJ*, June 1993) provided some great information, but your spending figures are inaccurate. One of the articles listed per-pupil spending at $4621; another listed the "average spent per pupil" as $4187. The latter figure is the correct number for the state's contribution to funding *alone*, not counting federal and local spending. When those of us promoting the Parental Choice in Education initiative drafted it in 1991, an accounting from the Department of Finance indicated that total spending at that time was $5242. Factoring in inflation, the correct total spending today is $5600, which makes your graph approximately correct. If the figures used in the text came from the state Department of Education, be warned. In the 14 years that I've worked on this issue, they've constantly provided dis-information to the public about average spending levels. These distinctions are crucial, for the correct numbers make it clear that current funding levels are adequate in a well-managed system. Finally, in current dollars, the scholarship provided by the initiative is worth about $2800, or more than the tuition levels in 80 percent of California's private schools.

DR. ALAN BONSTEEL, MD
San Ramon

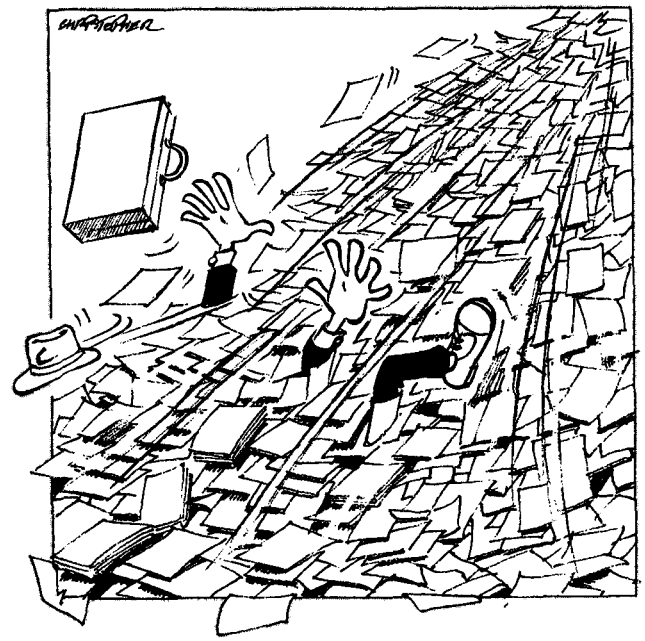
### Health care

Bruce Bronzan's plea (see *CJ*, June 1993) for all factions to pull together for health-care reform is not exactly rich with statistics. He cites Rochester, New York, as an example of a program that has worked. I'm resigned to the notion that we are not going to be permitted to suffer the ideological outrages of Canadian-style socialized medicine. But I *do* resent that writers who discuss alternatives keep pretending that that system doesn't exist. In so doing, they avoid having to acknowledge that it delivers better health care at significantly lower per-capita costs.

MARK DRAKE
Leggett

Advertisement

FLOOD!



Over 3,000 bills have been introduced in the California Legislature this session.

And in the next few weeks they are going to start moving.

Finding and keeping track of those that could impact your organization or clients is a huge job.

**Don't be swamped!**

Let StateNet get you the information you need when you need it.

Call today for a free demonstration or more information about the full range of StateNet's legislative and regulatory reporting services.

Your personal life preserver.

916-444-0840

STATE NET®



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Two Cents Worth

## COMMENTARY

By the time you read this, the July 1st deadline for a new state budget will have passed. If Governor Pete Wilson and the Legislature fail to meet that deadline — and in recent years, they have failed more often than not — finger-pointing will be the order of the day. But if they succeed with this basic task of governing, there will be congratulations all around and assertions that the budget's passage proves the governing process works in California.

They shouldn't be so smug.

If they somehow manage to create a budget on time, theirs will be a victory of expediency over substance.

Regardless of which of several variations passes, this budget will be a dismal example of statecraft. In the name of solving an immediate political problem — enacting a budget on time so they don't look like complete fools — our elected officials will intensify the state's long-term problems.

Indeed, the only bright spot during these months of budget deliberations is the notion that the state, for the first time, has faced up to the reality that it spends more money than it takes in. This coming fiscal year, it will admit from the first day that it needs to borrow to maintain a minimum level of service. The state, of course, has borrowed each year for several years running. But prior to 1993, lawmakers engaged in the self-delusion that revenues would be up, expenses would be down or that some purported cost-saving measure would actually save money. If nothing else, ending this charade ought to help our standing with the financial community.

But beyond this belated acknowledgement that we're not living within our means (and remember, we count that in the victory column), the new budget contains precious little to be happy about.

In fact, there are any number of provisions that exacerbate the state's problems.

To begin with, there is the hallmark of Pete Wilson's proposal — the shifting of property tax revenues from cities, counties and special districts to the state's schools. If he has his way, Wilson would let lapse a half-cent statewide sales tax boost passed as a budget-balancing measure during his freshman year. To replace some of this lost revenue, Wilson would give local voters the chance to impose sales taxes county-by-county. Local governments argue that they can't afford to lose the $2.6 billion involved in Wilson's shift. The governor counters that raising taxes or cutting state programs — money for health care, the disabled, schools or the poor — would be even worse. He may be right.

But taking away more property tax revenue from local government is not the solution. The withdrawal of this funding source from cities and counties — a process that began with the passage of Proposition 13 and has continued ever since — already has had a profound impact on the willingness of local-government officials to allow new development within their borders. Without property tax revenue, locals have had to look for new ways to earn money, and utility bills and developer fees have become the revenue sources of choice. Even worse, the situation has affected other choices made by cities — choices that will impact these communities for generations to come.

In terms of public policy, it makes more sense to leave property taxes in the hands of locals and have the state collect the sales tax — the situation that existed last fiscal year. Unfortunately, that requires the Legislature and the governor to take responsibility for the sales-tax hike. And Wilson, faced with dismal poll standings, just won't do it.

Furthermore, the new budget results in the abandonment of "preventive government" — Wilson's one governing philosophy that held the promise of reversing the state's downward spiral.

Wilson, of course points to the maintenance of some of his preventative programs, such as the "healthy start" pre-school effort. But the state's largest and best-established prevention programs — schools, higher education and health care — continue to deteriorate.

For the state's elected officials, however, the situation apparently isn't bad enough for them to strive toward any real change. It's a lot easier to claim that the budget's out on time.

*—Richard Zeiger*


California JOURNAL
Independent analysis of politics and government

**Publisher**
Thomas R. Hoeber

**Editor**
Richard Zeiger

**Managing Editor**
A.G. Block

**Associate Editors**
Danielle Starkey, Steve Scott

**Assistant Editors**
Mary Beth Barber, Laura Locke

**Circulation**
Sheryl Wood, Mary Foy

**Art Staff**
Scarlet Hong, Debbie Stevens

**Staff**
Ana Hernandez, Nick Compin

**Washington Correspondent**
Larry Liebert

**Interns**
Justin Zimmerman, G. Christopher Tapio, Margaret Steen

**Advertising Representative:**
**Media Marketing (916) 452-3242**

*cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli*

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. *California Journal* (ISSN00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $59.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $34.95. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.


Copyright 1993 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc.


Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.



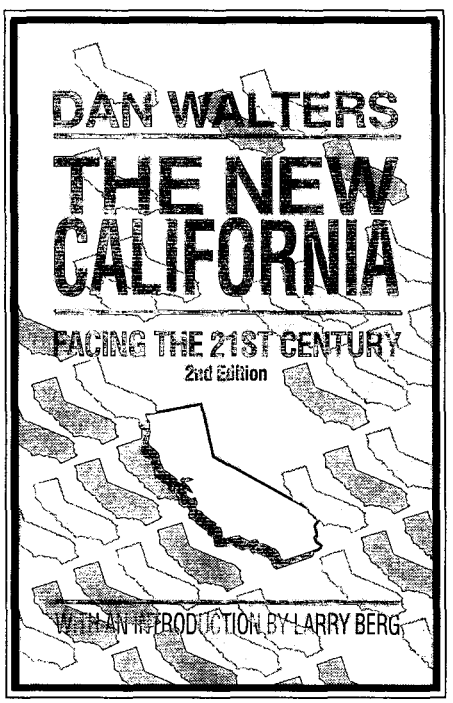

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT

## Books from California Journal Press

**California Political Almanac.** Every reader becomes a political insider with this candid analysis of California's political leaders written by Sacramento's most knowledgeable journalists. The new, 1993-94 *California Political Almanac* contains biographies, photographs, voting records and district description for every member of the state State, Assembly and Congress, as well as for every constitutional office. The Almanac also includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and much more: over 550 pages of data and analysis. 1993, 6x9", $34.95, paper.

**California's Budget Dance: Issues and Process,** by Richard Krolak. California's $50 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. But the budget process is complicated and murky, often taking place behind closed doors. Now comes *California's Budget Dance*, a 128-page book that clearl y outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now; anyone can be a force in the process. 1990, 5 $^1/_2$ x 8 $^1/_2$", 116 pages, $7.95, paper.




**The New California: Facing the 21st Century, 2nd Edtion.** By Dan Walters with an introduction by Larry L. Berg. *The Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9,000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and political implications of these trends. This 1992 edition is 186 pages long and contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data based on the 1990 Census. Price $11.95.

**Political Action Handbook.** One of *California Journal's* most popular booklets, the Political Action Handbook, 4th edition explains how newcomers and old hands alike can access the legislative process. Includes Do's and Don'ts, legislative process and administrative organization charts and much more. More than 50,000 copies copies of the earlier editions of this lively 32 page, 5 1/2" or 8 1/2" guide have been used by individuals and associations to improve their effectiveness. Prices 1-2 copies, $3.75 ea; 3-49 copies, $2.49 ea; 50-99 copies, $1.49 ea; 100 copies, 99¢ ea.

**Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime,** by Lou Cannon.The best book on the Reagan presidency by the reporter who covered Reagan for more than 26 years for the *San Jose Mercury News* and *Washington Post*. We have obtained a supply of the original hardcover 900-page edition. Originally sold at $24.95, it is available now to California Journal subscribers for $14.95 plus 7.75% tax and $2.75 shipping.

**Reporting: An Inside View,** by Lou Cannon. How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the working of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating. 1977. 6x9", 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

**Campaigning in California.** A practical guide to state and federal election finance laws by the law firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, et. al. This easy-to-understand Q & A format is up to date as of January 1992. 8 $^1/_2$ x 11". Price; 1-2 copies, $2.75 each; 3-49 copies, $1.95 each; 50-99 copies, 99¢ each; 100 or more, 74¢ each.

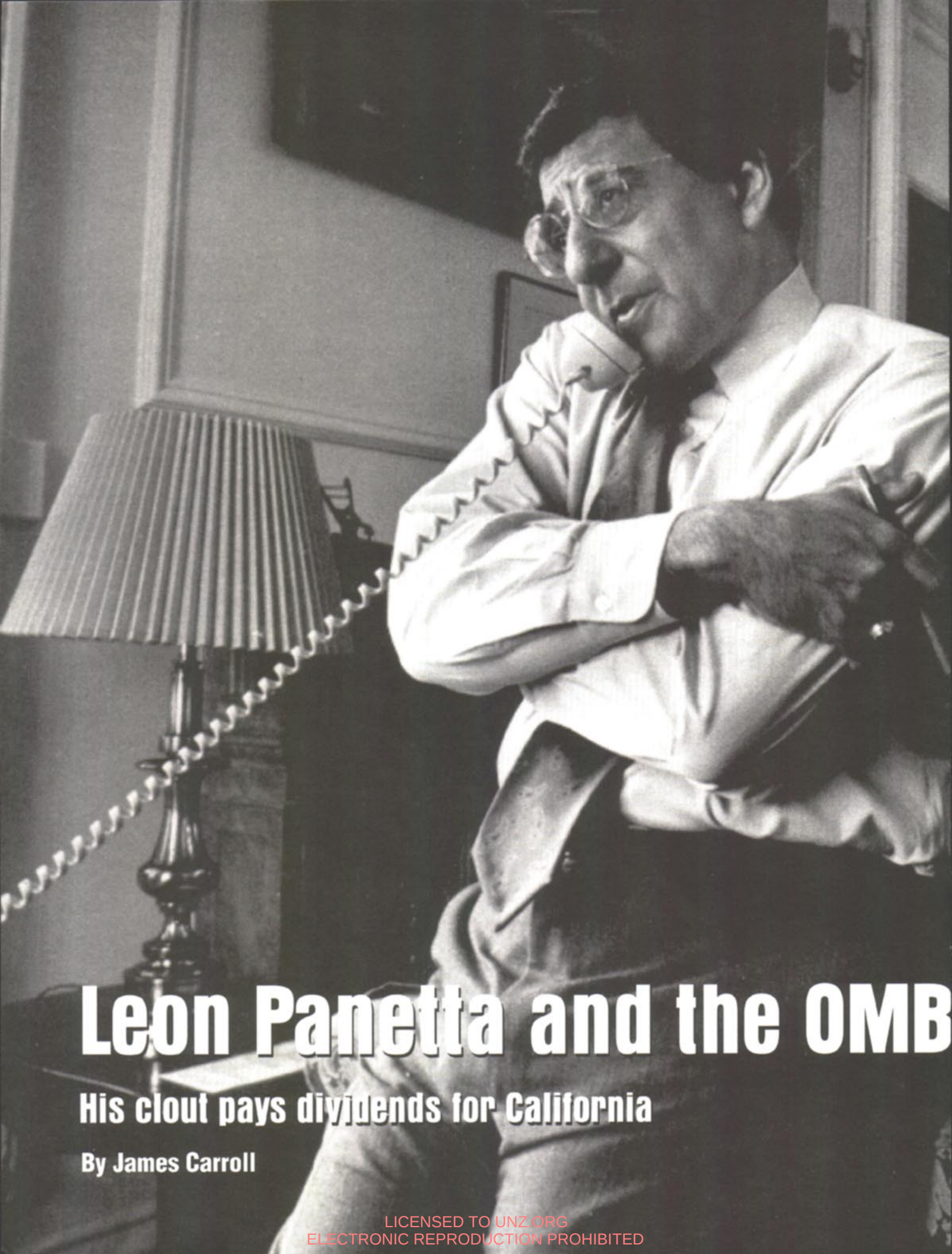
**Sacramento Political Visitor's Guide.** A 20-page, full-color guide for persons visiting the Capitol. Contains maps of the downtown area and the Capitol building, information on the legislative process, where to wine and dine, places to stay and how to get around. 1987, 8 $^1/_2$ x 11". $1.95 each; 2-49 copies, 99¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 49¢ each.

**California Government and Politics Annual,1993-94.** Published every year, the Annual consists of reprints of California Journal articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. 8 $^1/_2$x11", 96 pages. $7.95, paper.

**Legislative District Maps of California.** Included in the 20-page booklet are written descriptions of all 80 Assembly, 40 state Senate, 52 congressional and 4 Board of Equalization districts including major-party registration and ethnic data. Also included are 5 pages of maps. 8 $^1/_2$x11". Prices: 1-2 copies, $4.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.95 ea.; 50-99 copies, $2.35 ea.; 100 or more, $1.49 ea.

**Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 handling to each order. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own and send it with payment ( VISA or MasterCard orders accepted ) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814, or call 916/444-2840.**
**FAX 916/444-2339**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# Leon Panetta and the OMB

## His clout pays dividends for California

By James Carroll

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

photo by Rich Pedroncelli

On the night of this year's annual Washington dinner bringing together California's congressional delegation and state legislators, Leon Panetta was strolling through the crowd in the posh Mayflower Hotel. Panetta had attended many of these dinners as a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from the Carmel Valley, and it seemed like nothing had changed. But then he ran into a staffer from the California House delegation, somebody he has known for years. After a warm exchange of greetings, the staffer got right down to it: "I need...."

"I know," Panetta interrupted, "you need to have a meeting with me. And you got it!"

It's as simple as that when California comes calling at the Office of Management and Budget, because while Panetta is President Bill Clinton's director of the budget, he also remains a Californian.

Only now, he is the most powerful Californian in Washington. And that has meant help for California from an end of Pennsylvania Avenue that in recent years has treated the state with benign neglect.

For signs of what has changed, look no farther than the administration's first proposed budget. Since 1990 the federal government has owed California about $500 million in grants to help offset the economic impact of newly legalized immigrants, primarily from Mexico. The money was put in Clinton's budget.

- There is about $150 million in the budget plan for refugee assistance to California, where the largest number of the nation's refugees live. That money doubles what President Bush offered.
- Stanford University and Cornell University are competing to upgrade their high-energy physics labs, but the advanced research needs federal help. The Clinton budget includes $36 million for the winner of the project (see story page 37).
- The president has proposed $300 million to reimburse the states — California would get most of it — for providing health care to undocumented workers.

Each of these items carries the fingerprints of Leon Panetta.

"We have been fighting with Bush and Reagan for a long time" over some of these issues, says Democratic Congressman Don Edwards of San Jose, dean of the state's House delegation. "It's great to have somebody who understands us and our unique problems and is sympathetic, a loyal Californian."

And it doesn't hurt, he adds, that Panetta "has got a lot of power and has the ear of the president."

Does he ever.

On Clinton's first trip to California after the budget came out, Panetta fielded telephone calls from Air Force One to his office back in Washington about every 10 minutes. The boss had a lot he wanted to know about this huge state that, not incidentally, was critical to his victory last November.

This is all light years away from Panetta's first experience with the inner circles of power.

---

*James Carroll is Washington correspondent for Knight-Ridder News Service and the* Long Beach Press Telegram.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During the early days of Richard Nixon's presidency, Panetta was head of the Office of Civil Rights in the then-Department of Health, Education and Welfare. He was fired in 1970 after clashing once too often with his superiors over the administration's commitment to school desegregation.

Leaving the Republican Party behind, new Democrat Panetta in 1976 won a seat in the House from his home district around Monterey. Then, beginning in 1979, he began working his way up the seniority ranks on the House Budget Committee. He became known as a savvy hard-working proponent of fiscal restraint in the spending boom years of Ronald Reagan. Finally, he became chairman of the panel in 1988.

**There is nothing more shocking and more headline-grabbing in Washington than plain-spoken, unvarnished truth.**

The budget committee is an odd duck in the legislative bestiary. It has some broad powers to set overall limits on spending, but has no ability to control the actual doling out of dollars to specific programs. That's still in the hands of the House Appropriations Committee and its subcommittees. So being chairman of the House Budget Committee can be frustrating. Panetta hid it well, concentrating so well on the nuts and bolts of the federal spending machinery that when Clinton tapped him as budget director, it seemed there could be no other choice.

Now, Panetta sits on the other side of the budget process with more fiscal muscle than anyone else in Washington. The issues that cross his desk range from the tiny — deciding about building space in downtown Washington — to the grand — strategies to provide aid to Russia.

Not only did Panetta help write the federal budget the administration proposed, he gives thumbs up or thumbs down to every major initiative suggested by every department and agency; is negotiating with the Congress to get the budget passed; analyzes and decides what the administration will support and oppose on every budget amendment proposed in Congress; reviews all federal regulations for possible effects on federal spending; clears all testimony by federal agencies related to budget matters; and has wide discretion over how the executive branch of government is set up and run (the "M" of OMB).

Some of this may sound like dry stuff, but Washington is a town where jokes about the budget in the movie "Dave" get *huge* laughs. Yes, in the nation's capital, the budget isn't just a fat document to stop a door, it's a living, breathing celebrity in its own right, dominating the political discourse 10 months out of the year. Which is why, when the budget director talks, people listen. In Panetta's case, they were clapping their hands to their months and smacking their foreheads in disbelief in late April, when the new OMB guy had opined that his boss' economic program was just about in the dumper.

This was true. And there is nothing more shocking and more headline-grabbing in Washington than plain-spoken, unvarnished truth.

"It reminded people that Leon is still Leon, and you're not going to change him by bringing him inside the administration," says Congressman Vic Fazio, a Sacramento Democrat. "He also misjudged that what he was saying was revolutionary."

After the blow up came the Panetta jokes, including one from the president himself: "My daughter Chelsea came to me and said that since she had been in Washington, she no longer believed in the Easter Bunny, Santa Claus or even the Tooth Fairy," Clinton told the White House Correspondents Association dinner. "I said, 'Did you learn all this at your fancy new school?' She said, 'No, I had a long talk with Leon Panetta.'"

Panetta's office is in a corner of the Old Executive Office Building, a huge, Beaux Arts wedding cake next door to the White House. The high windows overlook the passing traffic on 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. The room is large enough to accomodate a large desk, a long meeting table and a bunching of more comfy stuffed furniture around a long-disabled fireplace. And large enough that, when a secretary of one of the departments calls, Panetta can carry on a conversation at the other end of the room in relative privacy.

In the breast pocket of his shirt, Panetta carries index cards detailing every moment of his day. Most days begin in the office at 7:00 a.m. Many don't end until 11:30 p.m. Not scheduled are the phone calls that at any time can require a last-minute stroll across the street. Panetta sees and/or talks with Clinton just about every day. And yet, for all this time, the budget director of the United States laughs when it is suggested he is a powerful figure.

"You almost always feel powerless in Washington, no matter where you're located," he says, his eyes crinkling as he grins behind his round glasses.

To some political veterans, Panetta's greatest strength may be that bluntness.

"Everybody wants to do a barometer check with him," one source in California's congressional delegation. "He's established his beachhead as a truth-sayer."

"If the country is not ready for him, for his way of dealing, that's too bad for the country," says Pamela Barry, executive director of the California Democratic congressional delegation. "He's a fair man, a just man, and he's honest."

And for California lawmakers in Washington, Panetta is a comforting, laid-back presence at ground zero. There is no need for preambles about offshore oil drilling or water allotments or Bureau of Land Management policies. Panetta knows all this cold.

Surprisingly, this was not always the case during the Reagan years. Despite being a Californian, Reagan was not particularly interested in details about how programs helped or hurt his home state, according to congressional insiders. Reagan left details to others, and many of them, also Californians, were lackadaisical about such things as returning phone calls, even to Republican lawmakers.

Edwards, Fazio and others note that the close personal relationships Panetta has built on Capitol Hill over the years haven't changed. "He always returns our calls," Edwards says.

Panetta also relies on the judgment of long-time colleagues in Congress, many of them Californians, to read the mood of Capitol Hill toward administration ideas and to provide advice on ways to smooth what he called the "constancy" of his new job.

"I had always anticipated, having worked with past directors, the budget issues," Panetta says. "I mean, you work on a budget resolution, you work in a budget summit, you deal


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with budget issues. But to be here and in fact see the vast parameters of responsibility one has in this position, that was something that I never frankly conceived of when I was up on the Hill."

The budget director is careful to say his constituency is much broader than the 17th House District in California.

"I now have to be concerned about my responsibilities to the nation," he says, and he says it in a way that doesn't sound corny.

But, having said that, he adds, "I always have a particular concern about California."

Working with Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, appointed by Clinton as a sort of administration ambassador to California, Panetta has taken to heart the president's promise to give the state's economic woes special attention. When the president's doomed economic stimulus package was being assembled, Panetta put his office to work analyzing how the jobs plan could have helped California communities, numbers Brown used when he later visited the state.

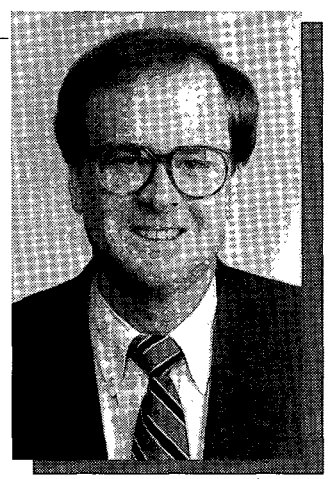
To say that California is never far from Panetta's mind is no exaggeration. Behind his desk are large black and white photographs of the California central coast. And all over his walls are personal mementos of a public career centered on California. And he still flies home to Monterey about every two weeks for weekends with his wife, Sylvia, who has been helping with the transition in the district office she has helped run for 16 years. Democratic Assemblyman Sam Farr of Carmel won that seat in a June 8th special election (see below).

"I'm a voting Californian and proud of it," Panetta says, "I don't think I could look at you straight in the eyes and say it's not a special place for me. It is."

And sometimes, Panetta confides, chuckling, he forgets he has changed jobs. "I call people and say, 'This is congressman ... No, no, it's *director* ...'"

Not that a title matters to his California friends in Washington. They just call him Leon. And they do call him.

# Sam Farr replaces Panetta in Congress



For Sam Farr, "career" has meant public service — Peace Corps volunteer in Latin America; assistant legislative analyst; Assembly committee consultant; Monterey County supervisor; assemblyman — a fitting life's work for someone born on the 4th of July. Now, at age 51, Farr, a Democrat, is on his way to Congress, there to replace the man many consider California's most powerful public servant: Office of Management and Budget Director Leon Panetta, who resigned in January after 16 years in the House. Farr won a June 8th special election to fill the vacancy in Panetta's 17th District.

Farr's victory over Republican Bill McCampbell came as no surprise. District voter registration favored Democrats 52 percent to 31 percent, and Panetta had nearly tripled his opponent's vote total last November. That opponent also was McCampbell. Farr himself was no slouch at winning elections in this area, having been elected to the Assembly seven times from the Carmel-Monterey area. In 1992, he won with 61 percent of the vote. Not only that, the three top finishers in the April primary all were Democrats. Polls also indicated a Farr victory.

In the special election, Farr captured 52 percent of the vote to McCampbell's 43 percent. Five independent and third-party candidates each got less then 2 percent. The 36 percent turnout was low, Farr told the *San Jose Mercury News*. "If people wanted to send a message to Washington, I think they would have turned out in bigger numbers," he said.

The campaign was highlighted not by noble debate over the federal deficit or military base closures, but over a lawsuit McCampbell filed against Farr. McCampbell charged that the Farr campaign defamed his character and libeled him over McCampbell's involvement with the South African government of Transkei. Farr said in some campaign literature that his Republican opponent was pro-apartheid, exemplified by McCampbell's lobbying efforts on behalf of a Black homeland created by the white apartheid South African government. McCampbell claimed that he was working against apartheid at the time, and that Farr's accusations were worth $10 million and a public retraction.

Panetta had raised the same issues during his campaign last November, but McCampbell claimed that Farr's broadsides pushed him past the breaking point. "My political advisors cautioned me against filing suit, but there is no way I am going to sit still and let Sam Farr destroy everything I have stood for and strived to accomplish in the past eight years for his political gain," McCampbell said in a statement.

Farr's victory sets up yet another special election — this to replace him in the 27th Assembly District. According to the secretary of state, that contest will be the eighth special election held this year in California, tying a record set back in 1973. The district favors Democrats by a 51 percent-31 percent margin. Democrats interested in succeeding Farr in Sacramento areSanta Cruz County Supervisor Gary Patton and gay activist and former Santa Cruz Mayor John Laird. Another possible Democratic candidate is Santa Cruz attorney Bill Monning, who ran a strong second to Farr in the 17th District primary this past April. His campaign organization still is in place. The Republican slate includes Susan Whitman, Farr's 1992 opponent, and former *Santa Cruz Sentinel* editor Bruce McPherson. Governor Pete Wilson is expected to set a date for the special election sometime this month.

*— Mary Beth Barber and A.G. Block*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

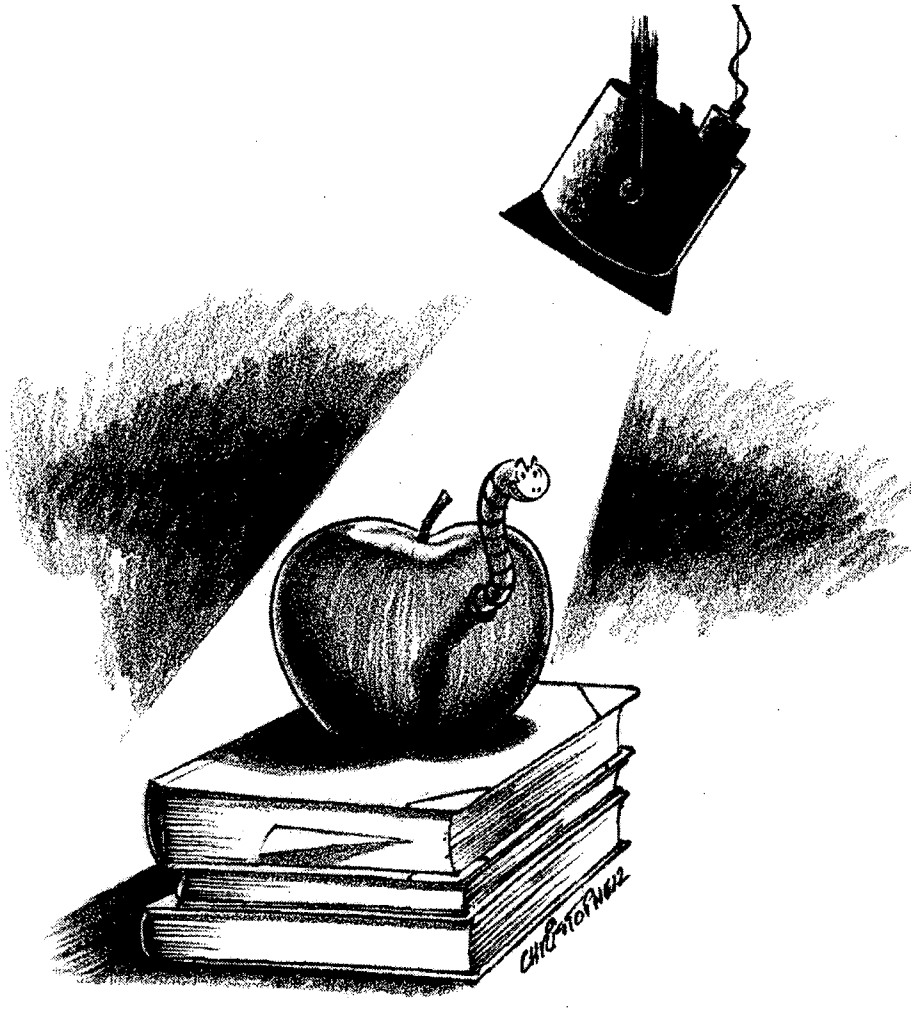
Advertisement

Only 50 spots available - Call Now!

# SPOTLIGHT ON EDUCATION:

## *A Two-Day Youth Conference and Pilot Television Program on California Education Issues*

August 26-27, 1993
Sacramento, California



Presented By:
**CAPITOL FOCUS**
In Conjunction with the California Channel

For more information or to reserve spots, please contact:

**CAPITOL FOCUS**
1714 Capitol Ave.
Sacramento, CA 95814
916/443-2229

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# End of the Bradley era

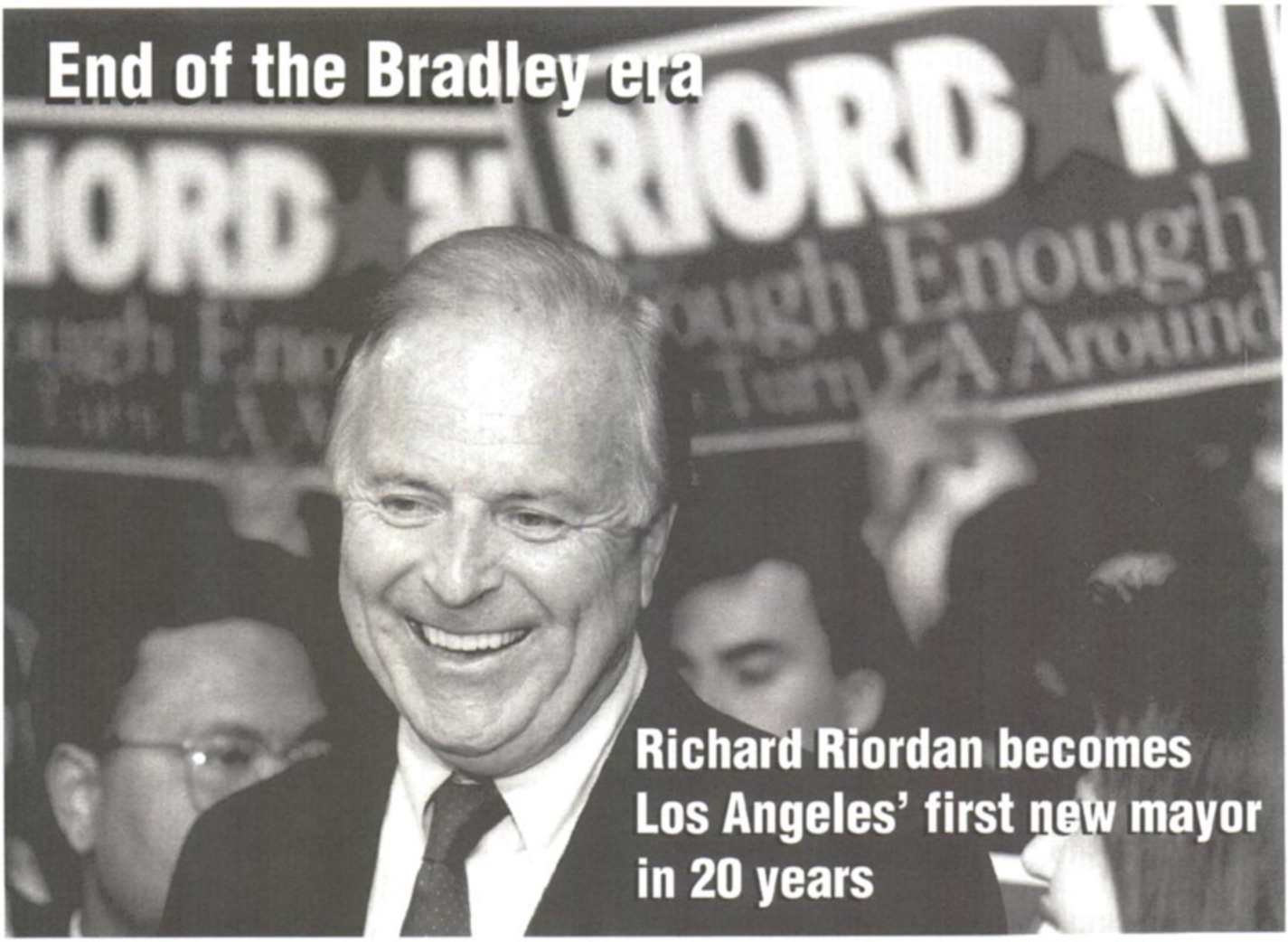



*photo by Tina Gerson/Los Angeles Daily News*

**By Mark Katches**

Election Night Snapshot: It's almost midnight on the eighth of June in downtown Los Angeles, and a feverish flock of supporters gathers to witness a remarkable transformation in one of America's most liberal cities. It's all taking place in the Crystal Ballroom of the ornate Biltmore Hotel — traditionally the Democratic Party's home turf.

There are plenty of Democrats here tonight, as well; in fact, so many that the fire marshal is getting nervous. But they are chanting the name of Republican Richard Riordan — a millionaire one hundred times over, who few in the city had heard of when 1993 began.

Finally, the candidate/attorney/venture capitalist/leveraged buyout-artist reaches the podium to claim the most visible political office in Southern California, becoming the first new mayor-elect since Tom Bradley created a coalition of the city's minorities and Westside liberals in 1973.

"There is a famous saying," the former Princeton philosophy major tells the crowd. "A journey of a thousand miles starts with a single step. Well, tonight the voters of Los Angeles have taken a giant step forward

---

*Mark Katches covers city hall for the* Los Angeles Daily News.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toward changing their city around."

Election Night Snapshot II: At the same time, two blocks away at the staid Hilton Hotel, liberal two-term City Councilman Michael Woo is about to turn into a political pumpkin for one simple reason. Despite an endorsement of Woo by the president of the United States, Riordan captured the Clinton Democrats, many of whom stood in the Biltmore's Crystal Ballroom eight months earlier celebrating the end of a 12-year drought in national politics.

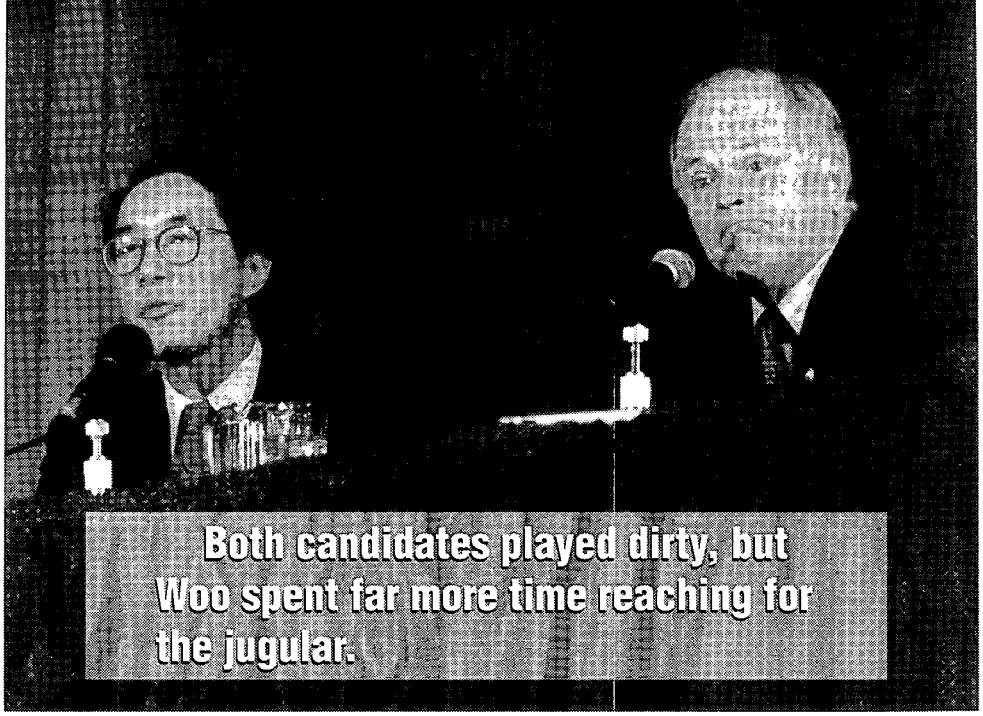



*photo by Hans Gutknecht / Los Angeles Daily News*

Woo tried to reserve the Biltmore for election night, but in the last of series of campaign insults, Riordan plunked down a $1000 deposit before a miffed Woo aide called to book the place. The Riordan camp gloated about the coup for weeks before the election. In a small way, it captured the essence of the campaign. No matter which way Mike Woo tacked, Richard Riordan stole his wind.

Five months earlier, Riordan was just another mayoral hopeful, one of 52 candidates pursuing Bradley's third-floor office at City Hall. When the field for the primary settled at 24, Riordan registered as a faint blip on the radar — a 63-year old first-time candidate who arrived at community forums 30 minutes late, with the ruffled look of a door-to-door salesman and an awkward, false-start speaking style. Riordan had one enormous advantage, however. He was willing to write multi-million dollar checks any time his campaign staff thought it necessary. Ultimately, he invested $6 million in himself.

If it weren't for his money, most observers say Riordan would have languished in the polls, somewhere in the vicinity of self-proclaimed "dancing landmark" Eileen Anderson, who campaigned on city sidewalks in a belly dancer's getup, and gadfly Melrose Larry Green who shouts epithets at civic leaders through a bullhorn near the Spring Street entrance to City Hall. Woo, on the other hand, was a glib, polished front-runner and heir apparent to the Bradley coalition.

How quickly things change.

Riordan finished the primary with 33 percent of the vote, nine points ahead of Woo. The presence of eight other experienced Democrats in the primary eroded Woo's support. Far short of a majority, both finalists needed to capture the fence-sitting Democrats. Woo was thought to have an advantage in a two-man race.

When all was said and done in the runoff, mud was slung in every corner of the city, party lines had been blurred and the Bradley coalition no longer existed. Riordan — who overcame admission of three alcohol-related arrests and the death of his 101-year-old mother in the last two weeks of the campaign — forged his own middle-class coalition, combining the long-neglected San Fernando Valley with the Westside. He thumped Woo 54 percent to 46 percent. Although officially a non-partisan race, the vote was as much triumph for the GOP — in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans by more than two-to-one — as it was a rejection of the status quo, political observers say.

"I think the biggest difference was that we stuck to issues," Riordan said in an interview outside his hotel suite on election night. "People are worried about safety, jobs and education, and I think people defined me as someone who could do something about it."

Riordan's high-priced chief strategist, Clint Reilly, believes the Riordan victory signals a shift from politics-as-usual toward a new era of business leadership in government. "People throughout the country in big cities are demanding management instead of ideology," Reilly said. "They are looking for someone who takes care of the nuts and bolts." (A San Franciscan, Reilly also served in the same capacity to another long-shot city hall hopeful — Frank Jordan, whose election as mayor of San Francisco was engineered by Reilly two years ago.)

Los Angeles city is cautiously optimistic about its new mayor, who will be sworn in July 1st. Most Angelenos viewed him as a lesser of two evils, says former GOP consultant Paul Clarke. Still, they saw him as a take-charge leader and an agent of change. Woo also tried to fit that mold. But after eight years on the City Council, Clarke believes voters perceived him to be part of the problem.

Clarke also thinks Riordan's success was prompted by the avalanche-like decline of the second largest city in America, where vacant lots and crumbled buildings still pock mark riot-torn South-Central, where defense and manufacturing jobs have vanished by the thousands and where motorists keep one eye on the rear-view mirror, fearing they will be the next victim of a car-jacking in this out-of-control blood-and-guts metropolis.

"People used the riots as a line of demarcation," Clarke said. "They made it clear that what happened on April 29, 1992, was as far as they were going to allow the city to sink. The voters held people like Woo responsible for the failures that culminated in last year's riots."

It didn't help that panhandlers, prostitutes, gangs and


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drug dealers had overrun Woo's once glamorous Hollywood council district. It also didn't help that Woo's mentor Bradley, who decided against seeking a sixth-term, had lost control of the city. For nearly a decade, a renegade and divided City Council ran roughshod over him. Woo may have been the natural inheritor of the Bradley coalition, but he had to pick up the pieces after years of splintering and neglect, says Claremont College political science professor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe. He couldn't do it.

Conservative Los Angeles County Supervisor Michael Antonovich called the election of Riordan, who will be the city's first Republican mayor in more than 30 years, a renaissance moment in Los Angeles that "restores sanity to the city."

"You now have a mayor who cares," Antonovich said. "You don't have a politician who will be handing out scrolls; you'll have a mayor who will be cutting red tape and protecting the public. Tom Bradley had broken the city's will. A rejection of Mike Woo is rejection of Tom Bradley's policies. Dick Riordan was an opponent of those failed policies."

Both candidates played dirty, but Woo spent far more time reaching for the jugular, portraying Riordan as a greedy backroom wheeler-dealer who was trying to buy the election. The tactic backfired, says Democratic political consultant Richard Lichtenstein. Woo channeled so much energy into his attacks that his message — which was not that dissimilar from Riordan's — drifted into the clouds and got lost. Riordan, meanwhile, stuck to the themes of public safety and jobs, says Lichtenstein.

Woo also had trouble settling on a strategy. After the primary, the councilman wasted no time highlighting the partisan differences and asked President Clinton to help. But when Clinton endorsed Woo, he stressed that he had nothing against Riordan, who enlisted the support of key Clinton backers. The endorsement had a hollow ring to it. Every poll showed it meant nothing.

"The problems of this city became more important in the minds of people than party identification," says Roy Behr, who managed former deputy mayor Linda Griego's primary bid for mayor. "People just didn't care what their party registration was."

When that tactic failed, Woo launched an assault on Riordan's character. It seemed to work for a while, especially after Riordan admitted to the alcohol-related arrests, two for driving under the influence. But that strategy, too, ran out of steam. Woo — who hinted that Riordan was concealing more arrests — produced no further evidence. Then one week before the election, Riordan's 101-year-old mother died, and a grieving candidate left town to arrange the funeral in New York. Lichtenstein believes the tragedy actually helped Riordan regroup. At that point, Woo had Riordan on the ropes but was left in Los Angeles without a target. Kicking Riordan at a time like this presented too many risks.

Riordan's credibility as the law-and-order candidate was indeed tarnished. Forty-five years old when police booked him in 1975, he could hardly chalk up the arrests to youthful indiscretion. But it was still ancient history in the minds of voters. The most recent incident occurred the year the city's youngest eligible voters were born.

"How did Riordan win? Money, media and Michael," said Councilman Joel Wachs, a moderate who finished third in the primary and endorsed Riordan. "Money was critical, he had the message that was exactly what people were concerned about and Michael Woo was the victim of his own character assassinations."

The day after the election, Woo declined to second-guess his tactics. He attributed Riordan's success to the anti-City Hall sentiment and Riordan's wealth. "I have no regrets about how the campaign was run," said Woo, who offered to help Riordan bring the city together.

Other factors worked against Woo. Most observers agree the councilman won the only two live televised debates in the final days of the campaign. But more people watched reruns of "Married With Children" and "Herman's Head" on the night of the first encounter. And the final debate competed with a critical Stanley Cup hockey playoff involving the hometown Los Angeles Kings.

Plus, a record number of voters — more than 100,000 — cast absentee ballots, and Riordan cleaned up with 65 percent of them, thanks to an aggressive absentee voter drive in the San Fernando Valley. Many of the absentee votes were punched before Riordan acknowledged his drunken driving arrests, says Lichtenstein. Not that it would have mattered much.

At the polls, Riordan dominated the Westside and especially the Valley, home to 40 percent of the city's registered voters — most of them older, conservative, white, middle-class homeowners who vote come hell or high water. Two hotly contested council races in the Valley served as an added draw. And Riordan courted the region like no other candidate since Mayor Sam Yorty's last stand in 1969.

"One thing I do pretty well is count," said consultant Reilly, referring to the gold mine in the Valley. As a result, Reilly mined in the Valley and ignored inner-city residents, who are less likely to vote. That presented yet another obstacle for Woo. He was forced to spend most of the last two weekends trying to encourage residents in his one stronghold — South-Central — to vote. He didn't have the luxury of trying to make inroads in the Valley or the Westside. The final turnout citywide was 42 percent, and more than 40 percent of those voters lived in the Valley.

**Riordan had one enormous advantage, however. He was willing to write multi-million dollar checks any time his campaign staff thought it was necessary. Ultimately, he invested $6 million in himself.**

Now that it's over, Riordan must turn his attention from a savage, divisive campaign to rebuilding and uniting a balkanized city that has been at war with itself for years. Although most experts believe Riordan will enjoy a honey-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moon, some civic leaders say the challengers are daunting. The mayor-elect takes the helm of a dysfunctional city with headaches so severe a number of the top names in Los Angeles politics were unwilling to apply for the job. As he prepared to take office, Sacramento leaders were again threatening to plunder the city's tax revenue. This year it could be to the tune of $300 million.

"I wonder if he woke up the next day and realized what he had gotten himself into," says John Mack, president of the Los Angeles Urban League.

Part of his early challenge will be getting the African-American community to join the bandwagon. Critics say Riordan played to the fears of the middle class after the riots — much like Yorty did in 1969, when he defeated Bradley in the wake of the 1966 uprising in Watts. Despite his generous philanthropic efforts in South-Central, Riordan will have some serious political patchwork ahead.

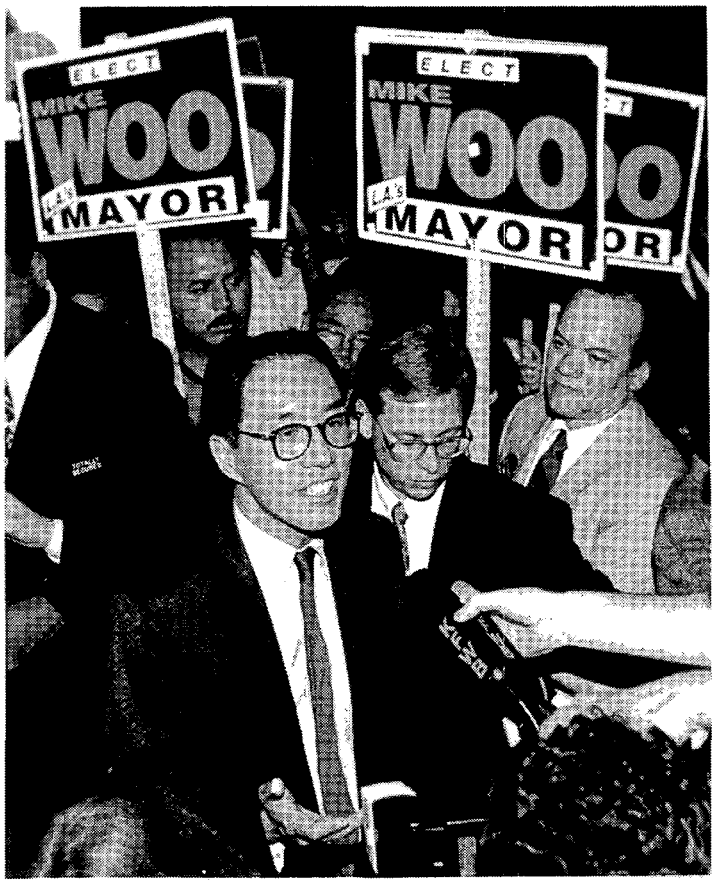


*photo by Evan Yee/Los Angeles Daily News*

"He has to reach out to South-Central," said former mayoral candidate Stan Sanders, a Rhodes scholar who grew up in Watts and is part of Riordan's transition team. "If he gets booed or heckled, he's just got to keep going back and going back."

As part of his shake-up, Riordan vows to embrace the inner city and make certain his 220 commission appointments reflect the diversity of Los Angeles.

"The one thing Dick has to do with is appointments is reflect the city," says his close friend and former business partner William Wardlaw, who is chairman of Riordan's transition team. "If they don't, he'll fall into the stereotype that limits his ability to govern this city."

Other priorities for Riordan will be streamlining the permit process at City Hall and making Los Angeles more friendly to business. But nothing will be more important than his pledge to add 3000 police officers to one of the smallest big-city police forces in the country. Riordan, in fact, has promised not to seek a second term if he can't deliver the extra officers. His plans center around leasing Los Angeles International Airport to a private firm, which skeptics have questioned. He also wants to cut 20 percent from his own office, combine city departments, and privatize services such as garbage collection. Riordan needs roughly $250 million to pay for the additional officers over the next four years, Wardlaw says.

Some civic leader worry about Riordan's priorities. They believe throwing money at the LAPD will only help if larger social issues are addressed. "The priority needs to be whether we can rekindle the possibility of a meaningful future for our young children," said Reed Tuckson, president of the Charles R. Drew University of Medicine and Science in South-Central. "If you can't do that, then all the police in the world would never be enough to overcome the reality that thousands and thousands of people have no relevance to the development of our society."

All his plans must be approved by the 15-member City Council, which changed significantly on election night with the addition of four new faces. Two long-time incumbents were thrown out of office, not counting Woo, who had forsaken his council seat to run for mayor. In his place, voters elected the first openly gay council member, former school board member Jackie Goldberg. The city also elected the first Hispanic representative from the San Fernando Valley, Richard Alarcon, a former Bradley aide. When Riordan takes office, the new City Council, including four members who backed Woo, appear willing to work with him.

"This election marks a new day in the history of Los Angeles," said Councilman Richard Alattore, an Eastside Democrat who endorsed Riordan. "We've elected a businessman who doesn't have any preconceived agenda. He recognizes the fact that in order to achieve, he has to work with the Council, and I'm of the opinion he can do that."

Reilly, who has become something of a kingmaker lately, draws a distinction between Riordan and the much-maligned Jordan.

"They are two totally different guys," Reilly said. "Dick Riordan has managed businesses and created thousands of jobs. His level of competence and experience is quite different. I don't think his learning curve is really as steep as Jordan's. Jordan is learning for the first time how to manage something this big. Riordan has been doing it for years."

What remains to be seen, however, is whether Riordan can adapt his business style of management to a weak-mayor system where he has little or no control over the council, the bureaucrats and the department heads who work for the city. And there's a little thing called checks and balances that you won't find in most corporate boardrooms. It will be a struggle, says Lichtenstein. But he thinks Riordan will have an easier time working within the system because — unlike an H. Ross Perot, for example — Riordan has a track record as a delegator and visionary, not a dictator.

"Dick Riordan is a creative guy," Lichtenstein says. "He'll find a way to win the battles."


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Will gambling save the county fair?

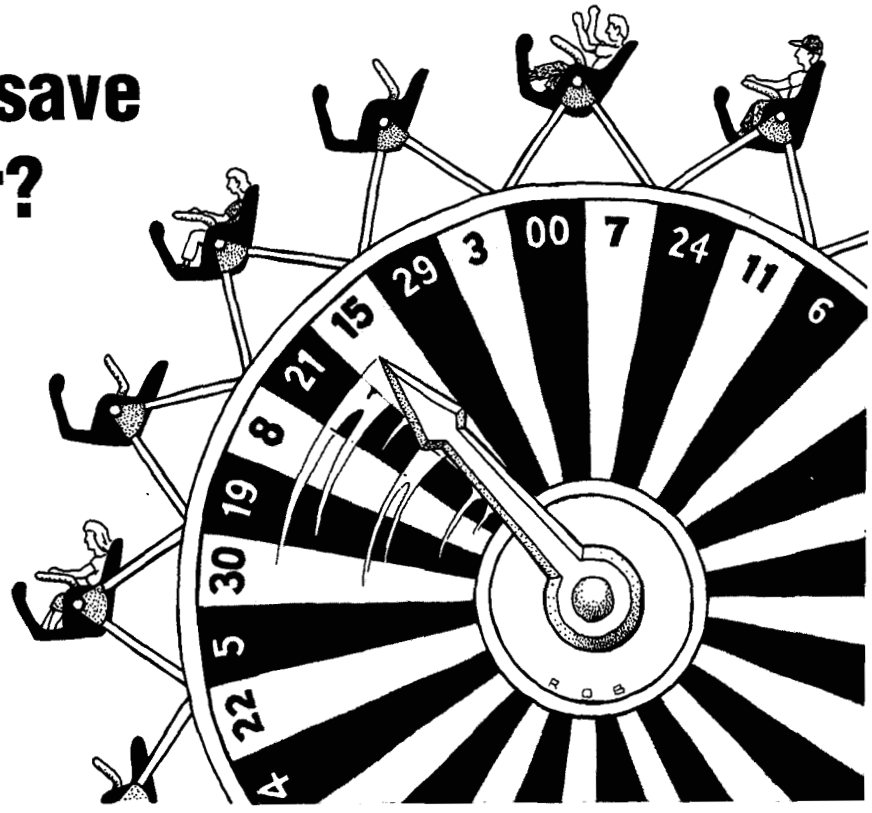



*illustration by Rob Wilson*

**By Justin Zimmerman and Danielle Starkey**

Sal Cannella was 11 years old when his family left Newark, New Jersey, for California. Once in the Golden State, "one of the first events I ever went to was a fair," Cannella recalls. "Can you imagine what it was like to walk in there to see cows and sheep, and then to be able to see all of the produce on display that all the kids in the high schools and different farm organizations were growing and displaying? It was like Alice in Wonderland."

Evidently that was a formative experience for Cannella, a Democrat who now, in addition to representing Merced in the Assembly, champions California fairs as chairman of the Assembly Subcommittee on Fairs and Expositions. Cannella and the fairs are facing a future that probably will not be as rosy as his childhood memory.

Although 1993 marks the centennial of the Ferris wheel, the enduring image of that ride presiding over a county fair could become a bit of nostalgia for some rural folks. The increasingly bleak California economy threatens many recipients of state funds, and fairs are being eyed as the latest victim of spending cuts.

The proposed cuts lurk beneath the term "privatization," a bit of jargon-turned-rallying-cry used like a talisman by opponents of government spending. Targets of privatization have reason to worry, since beneath the ostensibly neutral terminology is the unspoken attempt to replace crucial financial help with little more than token moral support.

A committee appointed by the California Department of Food and Agriculture to study California fairs reported that "the fair industry is now emerging from what may have been a false sense of security" following years of reliance on state funds. For the future, the report offers cautionary advice based on the assumption "that fairs can operate effectively with less state support."

Steve Chambers, executive director of the Western Fairs Association, is less certain. "Not all fairs can be self-sufficient because they weren't designed or located to be self-sufficient. If self-sufficiency was the goal, we'd only have built about 20 fairs in California, and they'd all be in urban areas."

Taken as a whole, Chambers says, California fairs generate 90 percent of their own revenue. But the picture changes for rural fairs, which rely on state funds for as much as half their annual budgets. "The large urban fairs are not reliant on state funds. They're appreciative, but they're not reliant," Chambers says.

Cannella claims that cutting the $32 million Fair and Exposition (F&E) Fund would be short-sighted at best. "I believe somebody saw $32 million in the budget and decided to find a way to get it. It looks good on paper, but if we're privatizing only because of revenue, then we lose the whole meaning of the fairs."

Conversely, GOP state Senator Frank Hill of Whittier appreciates the fairs for their entertainment value but says he

---

*Justin Zimmerman is a* California Journal *intern. Danielle Starkey is associate editor of the* Journal.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is unconvinced that state funding is appropriate in a time of fiscal hardship. "That's just one of those luxuries we can't afford," Hill says, adding that self-sufficiency should be a necessary course for the fair industry. "I don't think we should be paying for that now."

Phil Perry, spokesman for Assembly Minority leader Jim Brulte, agrees. "If you have economically viable fairs, privatizing would not come as a great blow." Perry points out that Brulte sees fairs as low on the totem pole of government spending. "In the context of the state budget, our primary focus is in three parts: education, public safety, and health and welfare. After that, spending goes as money is available. Privatizing is a good way to go."

Horse racing has been the lifeblood of fairs for 60 years. The California Horse Racing Act of 1933 legalized parimutuel wagering, or betting by pool, on the condition that betting fees collected by the state would fund certain social services (a precursor to educational funding legitimizing the Lottery), including agricultural fairs. The F&E fund was born, relieving the state's general fund of providing money for fairs. Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy, a Fresno Republican, gave the fund a substantial boost in the mid-1980s when he authored several bills legalizing off-track betting: a $13 million shot in the arm for fairs in the form of the Satellite Wagering Fund, an auxiliary to the larger F&E fund.

The horse-racing and fairs partnership not only precipitated a horse-breeding boom, but a fair expansion as well. Blessed with gambling booty, the roster of fairs jumped from eight to the current level of 81.

**The horse-racing and fairs partnership not only precipitated a horse-breeding boom, but a fair expansion as well. Blessed with gambling booty, the roster of fairs jumped from eight to the current level of 81.**

Chambers says that expanded forms of gambling — video poker and blackjack, for example — could supplement horse racing to keep fairs solvent. "We could come back to the governor with a plan that would not only show us not needing that 30 million [F&E fund], but it would give the state an additional 100 or 500 million. The state would probably save tens of millions of dollars just on wear and tear on [Interstate] 80 and [Highway] 50 with all the traffic that goes up to the casinos that could stop at their local fairground."

That may seem an ungrateful attitude for an industry that once called itself "partners in progress" with horse racing. Chambers' push for expanded forms of gambling may be at odds with those in the horse-racing business, a waning industry that — despite losing its former monopoly on California gambling — refuses to go gentle into that good night. In fact, the Department of Food and Agriculture report labeled other forms of gambling "no-brainer action," while offering a call-to-arms for horse racers to resist "the proliferation of games that offer the public easy access without the complication of learning how to play."

The honeymoon seems to have ended, however. Strapped for cash last year, the state dipped into the F&E fund for help, and managed to transfer $6.7 million to the general fund. Yet it was an ineffective salve, for the acrimonious budget battle continued and the fairs were in newfound trouble.

Until last year, all fairs, regardless of size, received a base allocation of $85,000. (Certain larger fairs got more, such as the Los Angeles County Fair, which got $250,000.) The missing $6.7 million changed that, forcing the fair governing board to invert the previous funding system. Under emergency rules, small fairs received $140,000, while larger ones got $30,000. Given the present climate of uncertainty for continued funding, the emergency measures could become the status quo, according to Kim Myrman, director of the Division of Fairs and Expositions. Or, taken a step further, the F&E fund could become a memory.

Chambers cites a number of social benefits that could be lost without state funds. "The fair stands in the shoes of a convention center. In the rural areas it's the number one activity center. There's a tremendous impact in the year-round usage that's made the fairs in rural areas an important part of the economic fabric of those communities." At small fairs, like the one in Colusa, local volunteer fire departments may sponsor activities to raise money for equipment while schools and churches organize spaghetti feeds or dances to fund local scholarships.

The benefits of the fairs extend beyond the more visible yearly event. As Cannella points out, "most fairgrounds operate 365 days a year. The two weeks that everybody focuses on when the carnival is in town is just a small portion of the activities that go on at the fairgrounds."

Ironically, it is the area of the most community benefit that may be hardest hit by budget cutting. "It's the year-round impact that we think is most at jeopardy, because it's not profitable," Chambers observes, "but it's critical to those communities because in absence of those fairs there is no place to hold events."

Cannella also warns of potential loss for the state, since the fairs generate significant revenue through sales tax. Comparing the F&E backing to the action of priming a pump, he says, "Some fairs make eight to $10 million every year with only a $145,000 investment in seed money from the state. The state gets pretty good bang for their buck when they invest $100,000 plus and are able to generate that kind of money throughout the state. I think it's a good return on the taxpayers' investment."

Although it seems unlikely that the F&E fund will be immediately cut off, there is no indication that it will not be raided again. In light of that future, Chambers concedes that some structural changes may be necessary to keep the fairs solvent. The Department of Food and Agriculture offered ominous advice that suggests harder times ahead, for fairs are urged to prepare for a "worst case scenario."

Cannella is less conciliatory about the future. "I don't know that I'm prepared to privatize something that's been in the public trust all these years," he says. Yet fairs may nonetheless find themselves weaned from government support and left to their survival instincts in the business world. The "worst case scenario?" Sink or swim.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Is a political deal binding?

## Ward Valley controversy may provide the answer

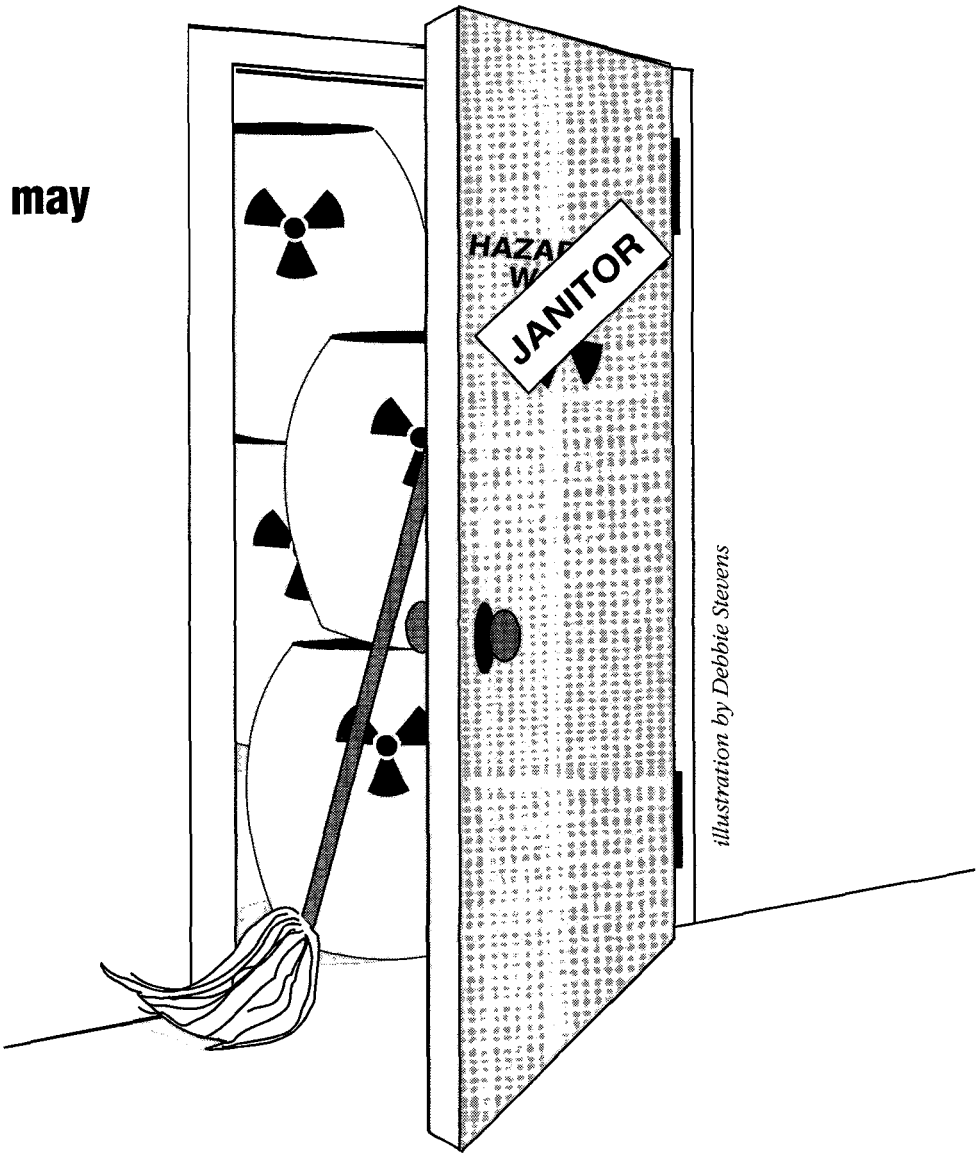



*illustration by Debbie Stevens*

**By Mary Beth Barber**

Under most circumstances, the confirmation of gubernatorial appointees by the Senate Rules Committee is a formality. Senators ask a question or two, then confirm them without a hitch. But when two of Governor Pete Wilson's appointees to the Health and Welfare Agency came up for confirmation in 1992, members of Rules wanted more details on a proposed low-level radioactive waste facility in the Southern California desert of Ward Valley. The two sides struck a deal: Wilson's appointees would be confirmed under certain circumstances. Russell Gould would be approved as secretary of Health and Welfare and Dr. Molly Joel Coye as director of the Department of Health Services (DHS) on the condition that the agency would hold a formal hearing on the facility before starting construction. But the move sparked a controversy that had to be resolved in court, with a decision that Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti says could jeopardize all confirmations in the future.

The Wilson administration may be able to back out of the on-the-record hearing in front of a judge thanks to a recent appellate court ruling that questions the legality of such oral contracts and whether the Senate overstepped its bounds



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by extracting the requirement in exchange for confirmation.

For his part, Roberti thinks the ruling, since appealed to the state Supreme Court, affects more than the Ward Valley facility. He believes it changes the nature of the confirmation process. "If this decision is upheld, the Senate could not ask appointees how they could carry out the law," said Roberti spokesman Greg DeGiere. "We would have to pass a law and hope and pray it would be carried out."

The controversy stems back to the 1980s, when California entered into a compact with three other states and agreed to be the first to build a facility for low-level radioactive wastes. The cite chosen in the Southern California desert area of Ward Valley seemed ideal, and the state decided to grant a license to U.S. Ecology to build the facility. It was to be completed by January of this year.

But the state has been met with delay after delay, including a complaint from many environmental groups that the informal hearings conducted by U.S. Ecology and the Department of Health Services were not adequate.

***If [the Senate] cannot inject itself into this process, why do we have confirmations?***

***— Karl Manheim***

Some governmental leaders agreed that a formal hearing on the record — meaning to many an adjudicatory hearing in front of a judge — was necessary before the license could be granted to U.S. Ecology. The state had been working toward granting the license without an adjudicatory hearing until the Senate Rules Committee came up with an ace: the confirmations of Gould and Coye.

The two administration leaders reluctantly agreed to hold the hearing. Wilson, at the same time, was under pressure from the three other states in the compact — Nevada, South Dakota and North Dakota — as well as the federal government and hundreds of low-level radioactive waste producers to build a facility by the deadline. The hearing would typically take a year to complete, and U.S. Ecology wouldn't stand for it, claiming that the company had met all requirements for licensing. It, along with a number of waste producers, brought a lawsuit against the Health and Welfare Agency, saying that the oral contract between Gould and Coye and the Senate Rules Committee was not a legal contract and therefore not binding. The state court of appeal in a decision released May 7 agreed that it wasn't legally binding.

There is still some question whether the decision still allows the state to hold the adjudicatory hearing, however. Environmental groups and the Rules Committee said that the governor can still hold the hearing, while Gould and Wilson spokeswoman Kassy Perry said the decision precludes them from doing so, according to Wilson's lawyers.

And Wilson believes that the Senate Rules Committee went overboard in its request for an adjudicatory hearing.

"The members of the Senate Rules Committee overreached in their attempt to assume more power than the Constitution grants them and the court appropriately stopped the power grab," said Wilson in a press release.

Not that the Senate Rules Committee ever thought that the contract was legally binding. Fred Woocher, attorney for the Rules Committee, said that the committee knew all along that the agreement was purely a political promise — one they expected to be made in good faith by the appointees. It was, he said, but the decision brought by U.S. Ecology in this case puts those political compromises in jeopardy, as well as all other promises made in the future during the confirmation process.

"The broader implications are more serious," said Karl Manheim, a professor of constitutional law at Loyola-Marymount University in Los Angeles and an attorney for the environmental group Committee to Bridge the Gap. The decision indicates that the state Senate is forbidden from discussing future policy with state department and agency nominees. The decision says that the legislature may reject or confirm without discussion or political compromises, claimed Manheim. "And it simply ties their hands."

Political compromises during the confirmation process are quite common, he continued. In fact, the law was set up to encourage such compromises as part of they system of checks and balances because the legislature has no discretion over an agency's policy and actions once an appointee has been approved. "If [the Senate] cannot inject itself into this process, why do we have confirmations?" asked Manheim. And the Legislature shouldn't be the only one concerned about this decision. He predicts that more of the governor's appointees will be rejected in the future if the decision holds. "This decision makes it either a rubber stamp or automatic veto," he said.

The Senate Rules Committee has no intention of letting the rule stand

Advertisement

**CALIFORNIA'S BUDGET DANCE:**

**ISSUES AND PROCESS**

*By Richard Krolak*

California's $60 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. If you want to understand and influence the direction of these programs, the budget is the number one way to do it. But the process is murky and complicated.

Now comes *California's Budget Dance*, a 128-page book that clearly outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now: anyone can be a force in the process.

All this for only $7.95 plus 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 shipping and handling. To place your order call or write *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814. 916/444-2840.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hold a hearing. If he does hold a hearing, "there may be nothing to do, if he agrees with us," continued Manheim. Regardless, the case is the first questioning the constitutionality of promises made during the appointment process, and will most likely become a leading case if it remains on the books.

Meanwhile, the chances that the state will hold a hearing based on the results of this case are slim. "It's very clear that the last paragraph of the decision prohibits the department from holding the hearing," said Perry. "Our lawyers say we can be held in contempt of court if we do." There is no reason why these attorneys would provide false information to the governor's office, she said. "They are trying to follow the letter of the law."

While Wilson may want DHS to proceed in the licensing of the Ward Valley facility, the state has a significant problem: It doesn't have the land. The federal Bureau of Land Management has been reviewing two contracts from the state to transfer Ward Valley over, one from DHS and the Department of General Services, and another from the State Lands Commission. The State Lands Commission was the first state agency to attempt to acquire the land, but cooled on the proposal once the waste facility turned into such a political and environmental hot potato. But when DHS and General Services put in their bid, political pressure pushed the Lands Commission to re-enter the bidding process. The federal Department of Interior, led by Bruce Babbitt, is now reviewing both bids.

Roberti has been trying to exert his political power in Washington, D.C. through letters to Babbitt asking the federal government to hold off on the transfer to either state agency until the state holds a hearing. Gould contends that the request would initiate a Catch-22, because the state is precluded by law from holding such a hearing. Both sides are waiting with baited breath to see what Babbitt decides. The review process is expected to take 90 days to six months.

Other political wonks have gotten into the controversy, especially Democrats criticizing Wilson for not holding a hearing. State Controller Gray Davis, also a commissioner of the State Lands Commission, claimed that Wilson had promised the federal government to hold the hearing if the land is transferred to DHS. Perry, however, denied the claim, saying that the letter Davis referred to said that the hearing would not be held unless the court said that it could be — which of course leads back to the question of what the court of appeal actually did or did not say.

In the meantime, as Sacramento battles out the legality of political compromises and deciphers letters between officials on both sides of the controversy, producers claim that low-level radioactive waste is building up in private biotechnology labs, hospitals and nuclear energy and research facilities in California. They claim that they are faced with the buildup of waste that can either be stored in temporary on-site facilities or shipped off to South Carolina, to the only other facility that will accept the waste from California producers, and only for a short time. Until the state comes up with a solution, they say they are stuck with the stuff.


WHEN YOU FIND A GOOD SAN FRANCISCO VALUE

STAY WITH IT.

Genuine marble columns. Tiffany glass. Convenient location. Comfortably appointed guestrooms. Priced for the budget-conscious traveler. For your next vacation, tour, meeting or business trip, stay with Ramada San Francisco.

- 460 guestrooms, 13 spacious suites
- Rapid transit at your door
- 5 function rooms for groups up to 1,000 persons
- Close to Financial District, City Hall, Theaters and Union Square

*For reservations or more information, call today.*

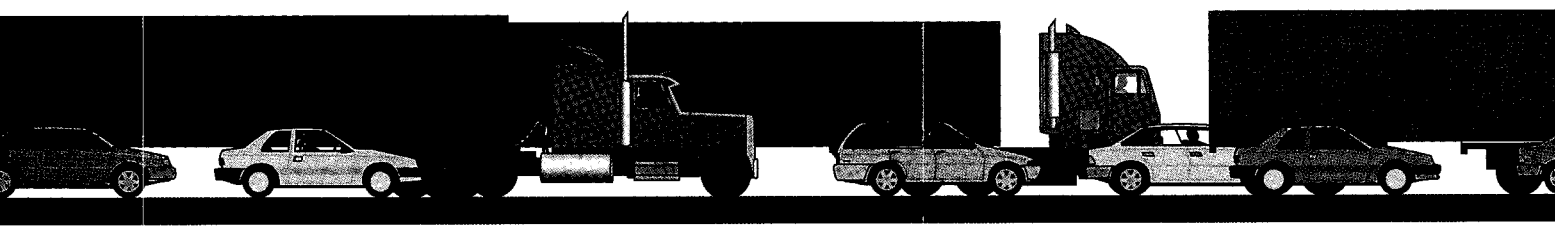
RAMADA®

RAMADA® HOTEL SAN FRANCISCO
(415) 626-8000 (800) 227-4747 1231 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94103




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# How Do You Help Traffic?



## *Simple.* Train It.

To clear up traffic, it's clear that America's freight railroads and trucking companies need to work together.

Clogged roads cost the economy tens of billions of dollars annually in lost productivity and wasted fuel, and their effect on air quality is disastrous.

Fortunately, a truck can be trained to help keep traffic moving.

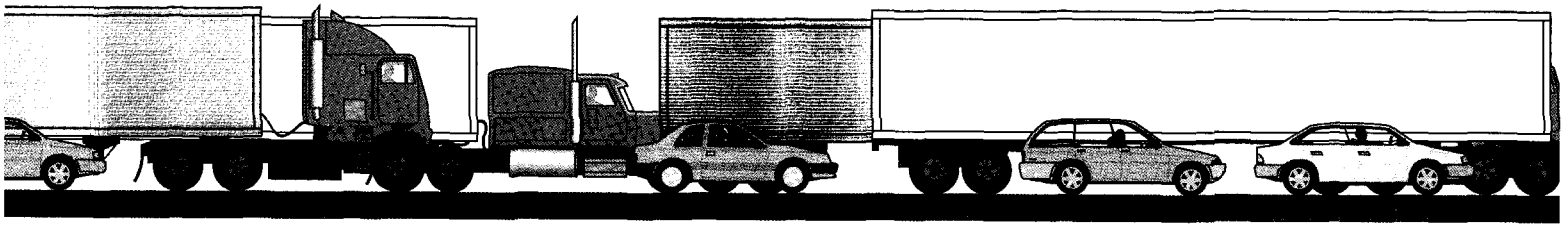
Last year, trucking companies and shippers put almost seven million of their trailers and containers on the rails instead of the roads.

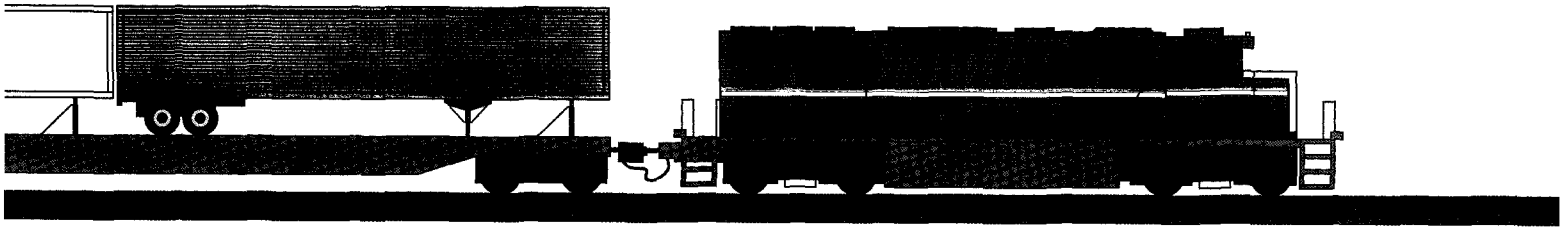
And railroads already have the capacity to handle millions more.

Which would mean thousands fewer trucks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A Truck Clear Up





a day on the highways. And since freight railroads are all privately owned and maintain their own rights-of-way, training a truck doesn't cost a dollar in taxes.

Together, trains and trucks are creating an intermodal transportation system that's solving lots of problems.

How can you find out more? Simple. *Write the Association of American Railroads, 50 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. Or call 1-800-US TRAIN.*

ASSOCIATION OF
AMERICAN RAILROADS

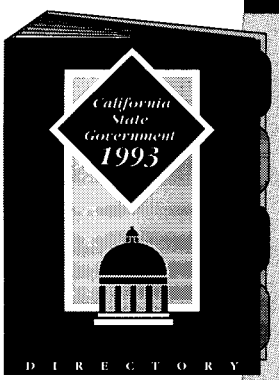
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

# California Directories

*These three directories are indispensable tools for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press, and government agencies that need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. The California Directories provide a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy-making.*

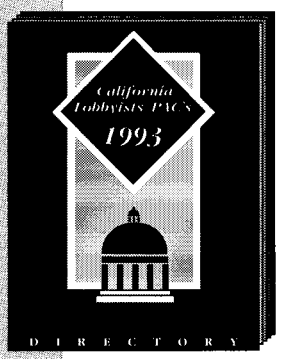
**"The indispensable government reference tool."**




## State Government

### Looseleaf with Quarterly Update service

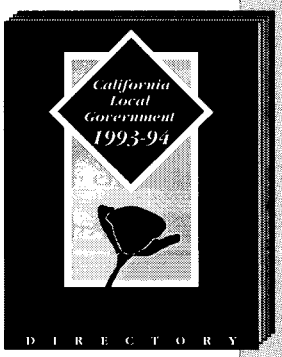
Names, photographs, short biographies, district descriptions, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, committees, and staff of the Legislature. Descriptions of state departments, boards and commissions and their top staff. Indexed with over 2600 listing. Over 170 pages, 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 11".




## Lobbyists/PACs

### New 1993 edition

Name, address and phone numbers of nearly 1,000 lobbyists, 300 firms, 2,000 employers and 1,500 political action committees. 225 pages, 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 11.




## Local Government

### New 1993 edition

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. Over 9,000 listings, 300 pages, 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 11.

## Order Form

### 1993 California Directories

☐ State Government, $125.00 ☐ Lobbyists/PACs, $40.00 ☐ Local Government, $60.00

☐ All Three, $195.00 (a saving of 15%)

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Telephone # _____ / _____

**Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 handling to all orders.**

Send check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to ***California Journal***, **1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814**. For immediate orders or more information call 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## A house soon divided

*illustration by Christopher Van Overloop*

# "Nesting" in the Assembly does not refer to a comfort zone

**By A.G. Block**

*The Senate.*

It hangs like mist over the Assembly. It is a half-formed thought, a distant vision not quite in focus yet pulling like magnetic North at the lower house. And its lure among Assembly members may be the unintended consequence of two recent political revolutions — term limits and reapportionment.

Term limits arrived on the wings of Proposition 140, passed by voters in November 1990. Like a lethal plague, it wipes out the careers of every current state senator by 2002. More significant, it drives from office every current member of the Assembly by 1998. Beyond 1998, Assembly members who want to continue in the Legislature must seek the Senate.

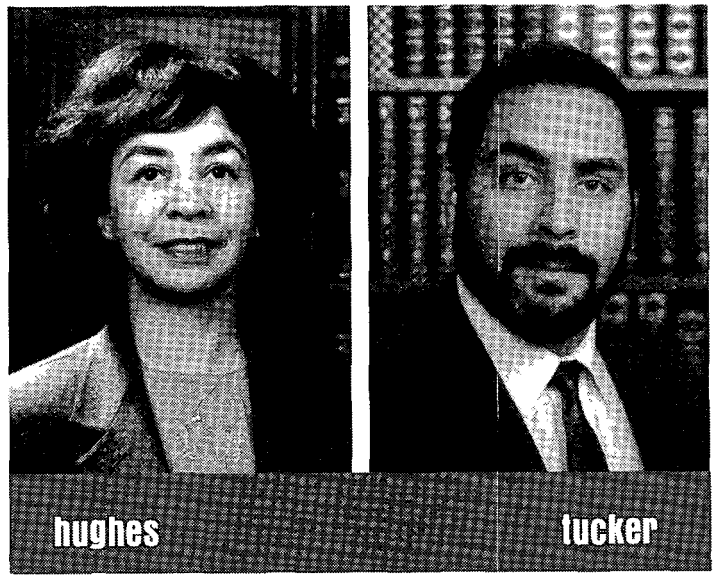
In years past, advancement from lower to upper house was blocked by the encrusted nature of incumbency. Senators did not leave until they ran for or were appointed to other jobs, retired or died in harness. As a result, Assembly



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

members often had to wait eons for an opening. Term limits dramatically shorten the wait.

But term limits alone did not create the situation now facing the Assembly, for the 1991 reapportionment also recasts the traditional scramble for the Senate. In the previous redistricting, stitched together by lawmakers themselves, Assembly and Senate districts were drawn independent of one another. Thus, an assemblyman or assemblywoman might represent an area that meandered through several Senate districts, and a vacancy in any one of them might give him or her a shot at the upper house. But in 1991 the process was overseen by the state Supreme Court, and its mapmakers took a more logical approach. They "nested" two adjacent Assembly districts to form one Senate district. Now, an Assembly member who ponders a move to the Senate knows exactly which *other* member is nested in the same territory. Forty potential rivalries were set in stone, and a new internal tension was layered onto the Assembly for the decade of the 1990s.




The chart on page 27 shows the "nestings." In all but seven of the 40 Senate districts, nested Assembly members are from the same party. In most cases, they also are philosophical allies. But alliances and even friendships may prove brittle once members approach 1996 — when a regiment of lawmakers from both houses and both parties are mowed down by term limits.

"You now have two caucuses in the Assembly," said Assembly Minority Leader Jim Brulte. "But the potential exists to have four caucuses. What you have is a structural impediment to caucus unity."

Brulte and others envision an Assembly where members form alliances against other members of their own party, and where some of these unions cross party lines. One member evoked the memory of the Leo McCarthy-Howard Berman speakership fight that nearly paralyzed the Assembly throughout 1979 and 1980, warning that the same bitterness and ferocity generated by that rivalry could revisit the Assembly — only on a grander scale, given the number of members involved.

Some legislators will be faced with very difficult decisions, a notion expressed by Democratic Assemblywoman Deirdre Alpert of San Diego. Alpert is nested with fellow Democrat Mike Gotch in the 39th Senate District, currently represented by independent Lucy Killea. All three fall victim to term limits in 1996.

"Mike and I will try to work it out ahead of time," Alpert said, adding that it is a knot she has yet to contemplate. She agreed that potential rivalries could further complicate the already complex business of lawmaking. "Just look back at what happened between [Dave] Kelley and [Carol] Bentley last year," she said, referring to the race between two Republican Assembly members thrown together in a vacant Senate district by reapportionment. That contest turned especially bitter toward the end, as did a 1992 Assembly primary involving three Republican incumbents from Orange County — Doris Allen, Nolan Frizzelle and Tom Mays.

"Similar situations have happened in the past," recalled Democratic Assemblyman Richard Katz of Los Angeles. "I remember when [Democratic assemblymen] Dave Elder and Bruce Young shadowed each other over the possibility they would both someday seek Glenn Anderson's congressional seat. It never actually happened, but the notion was there and it affected how each of them operated."

"It will add an interesting dynamic to the process," mused freshman Assemblyman Ray Haynes, a Murrieta Republican who makes no secret of his desire to challenge Democratic Senator Bob Presley's re-election next year. "You'll see instances of people sniping at each other where you wouldn't expect it."

Haynes, nested with Riverside Republican Ted Weggeland in Presley's 36th District, said he and Weggeland explored the issue before they were elected in 1992. "I saw it as a problem right off the bat," said Haynes. "We reached an accommodation. We're not enemies, even if we run against each other." Weggeland said he's not interested in challenging Presley in 1994; Haynes probably will do it.

Meanwhile, the possibilities for conflict dot California's political landscape. Take the north state's 1st Senate District, where nested Republicans David Knowles of Cameron Park and Bernie Richter of Chico are conservative allies on many issues. The 1st District currently is the province of fellow Republican Tim Leslie of Carnelian Bay. Term limits don't force Leslie out until 2000 — four years after Knowles will be ousted from his Assembly seat and two years after Richter must leave. What do they do? Retire quietly? Or do they challenge Leslie's re-election in 1996? Knowles won't have a choice if he is to remain a legislator. But Richter would still have two years remaining in the Assembly. In years past, it was all but unthinkable for an Assembly member to mount a challenge to a Senate incumbent from his or her own party. But in this era of term limits, all bets may be off. Thus, Leslie, Knowles and Richter — political soulmates all — could be on a collision course in 1996.

Knowles has denied any interest in running for the Senate and said he will be happy to return to the private sector once his Assembly career ends in '96. Knowles admitted, however, that he felt compelled to tell Leslie that he would not challenge him "to preclude any interruption in our relationship." It is significant that Knowles would raise the issue at all — unless he feared Leslie might hear footsteps and thereby threaten their cooperation on matters affecting the district.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The footsteps are real — and loud — in Los Angeles' 25th Senate District. There, Democrat Curtis Tucker Jr., whose Assembly career terminates in 1996, already has informed incumbent Democratic Senator Teresa Hughes that he will challenge her re-election in the June 1996 primary. They may be joined in that primary by Assemblyman Willard Murray, who also falls victim to term limits in 1996. Can Tucker's looming challenge to Hughes do anything but strain their relationship?

Where else will this strain emerge? Democrats John Burton and Jackie Speier are in the 8th Senate District, now represented by independent Quentin Kopp of San Francisco.

## Nested Assembly members

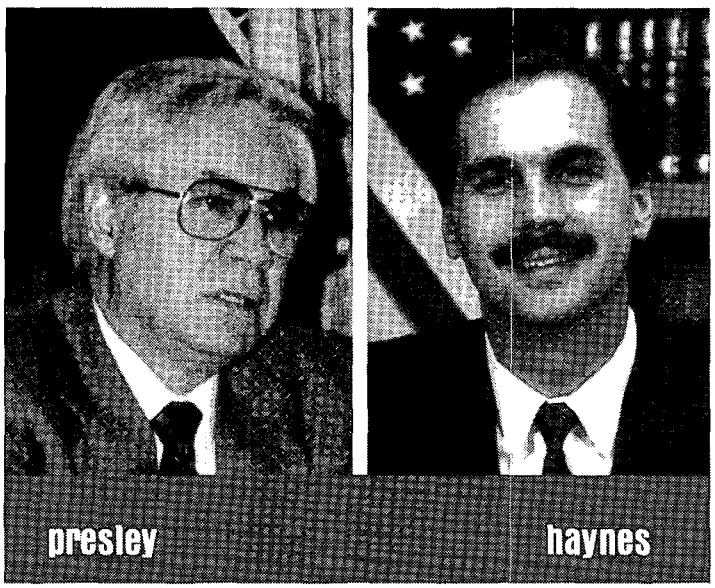
| SD | AD | Assm. Member | Trm Lmt | Senator | Trm Lmt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 3 | Richter - R | 1998 | Leslie - R | 2000 |
| | 4 | Knowles - R | 1996 | | |
| 2 | 1 | Hauser - D | 1996 | Thompson - D | 1998 |
| | 7 | V.Brown - D | 1998 | | |
| 3 | 6 | Bronshvag - D | 1998 | Marks - D | 1996 |
| | 13 | W.Brown - D | 1996 | | |
| 4 | 2 | Statham - R | 1996 | Vacant | 2002 |
| | 8 | Hannigan - D | 1996 | | |
| 5 | 10 | Bowler - R | 1998 | Johnston - D | 2000 |
| | 17 | Andal - R | 1996 | | |
| 6 | 5 | Vacant | 2000 | Greene - D | 1998 |
| | 9 | Isenberg - D | 1996 | | |
| 7 | 11 | Campbell - D | 1996 | Boatwright-D | 1996 |
| | 15 | Rainey - R | 1998 | | |
| 8 | 12 | Burton - D | 1996 | Kopp - I | 1998 |
| | 19 | Speier - D | 1996 | | |
| 9 | 14 | Bates - D | 1996 | Petris - D | 1996 |
| | 16 | Lee - D | 1996 | | |
| 10 | 18 | Klehs - D | 1996 | Lockyer - D | 1998 |
| | 20 | Eastin - D | 1996 | | |
| 11 | 21 | Sher - D | 1996 | Morgan - R | 1996 |
| | 24 | Quackenbush - R | 1996 | | |
| 12 | 25 | Snyder - D | 1998 | McCorquodale-D | 1998 |
| | 26 | Cannella - D | 1996 | | |
| 13 | 22 | Vasconcellos - D | 1996 | Alquist - D | 1996 |
| | 23 | Cortese - D | 1996 | | |
| 14 | 29 | Jones - R | 1996 | Maddy - R | 1998 |
| | 32 | Harvey - R | 1996 | | |
| 15 | 27 | Vacant | 2000 | Mello - D | 1996 |
| | 28 | Areias - D | 1996 | | |
| 16 | 30 | Costa - D | 1996 | Wyman - R | 2002 |
| | 31 | Bustamante - D | 2000 | | |
| 17 | 34 | Honeycutt - R | 1998 | Rogers - R | 1996 |
| | 36 | Knight - R | 1998 | | |
| 18 | 33 | Seastrand - R | 1996 | Hart - D | 1998* |
| | 35 | O'Connell - D | 1996 | | |
| | | * *Hart announced that he will not seek re-election in 1994* | | | |
| 19 | 37 | Takasugi - R | 1998 | Wright - R | 2000 |
| | 38 | Boland - R | 1996 | | |
| 20 | 39 | Katz - D | 1996 | Roberti - D | 1994 |
| | 40 | B.Friedman - D | 1996 | | |

| SD | AD | Assm. Member | Trm Lmt | Senator | Trm Lmt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | 43 | Nolan - R | 1996 | Russell - R | 1996 |
| | 44 | Hoge - R | 1998 | | |
| 22 | 45 | Polanco - D | 1996 | Rosenthal - D | 1998 |
| | 46 | Caldera - D | 1998 | | |
| 23 | 41 | T.Friedman - D | 1996 | Hayden - D | 2000 |
| | 42 | Margolin - D | 1996 | | |
| 24 | 49 | D.Martinez - D | 1998 | Torres - D | 1998 |
| | 57 | Solis - D | 1998 | | |
| 25 | 51 | Tucker - D | 1996 | Hughes - D | 2000 |
| | 52 | Murray - D | 1996 | | |
| 26 | 47 | Moore - D | 1996 | Calderon - D | 1998 |
| | 48 | Archie-Hudson-D | 1996 | | |
| 27 | 54 | Karnette - D | 1998 | Beverly - R | 1996 |
| | 56 | Epple - D | 1996 | | |
| 28 | 53 | Bowen - D | 1998 | Watson - D | 1998 |
| | 55 | McDonald - D | 1998 | | |
| 29 | 59 | Mountjoy - R | 1996 | Hill - R | 1996 |
| | 60 | Horcher - R | 1996 | | |
| 30 | 50 | Escutia - D | 1998 | Dills - D | 1998 |
| | 58 | Napolitano - D | 1998 | | |
| 31 | 63 | Brulte - R | 1996 | Leonard - R | 1996 |
| | 65 | Woodruff - R | 1996 | | |
| 32 | 61 | Aguiar - R | 1998 | Ayala - D | 1998 |
| | 62 | Baca - D | 1998 | | |
| 33 | 71 | Conroy - R | 1996 | Lewis - R | 2000 |
| | 72 | Johnson - R | 1996 | | |
| 34 | 68 | Pringle - R | 1998 | Hurtt - R | 2002 |
| | 69 | Umberg - D | 1996 | | |
| 35 | 67 | Allen - R | 1996 | Bergeson - R | 1996 |
| | 70 | Ferguson - R | 1996 | | |
| 36 | 64 | Weggeland - R | 1998 | Presley - D | 1998 |
| | 66 | Haynes - R | 1998 | | |
| 37 | 75 | Goldsmith - R | 1998 | Kelley - R | 2000 |
| | 80 | Bornstein - D | 1998 | | |
| 38 | 73 | Morrow - R | 1998 | Craven - R | 1998 |
| | 74 | Frazee - R | 1996 | | |
| 39 | 76 | Gotch - D | 1996 | Killea - I | 1996 |
| | 78 | Alpert - D | 1996 | | |
| 40 | 77 | Connolly - D | 1998 | Deddeh - D | 1998 |
| | 79 | Peace - D | 1996 | | |



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Both Burton and Speier leave the Assembly in 1996. Kopp, on the other hand, serves until 1998. If Burton and Speier have any interest in the Senate, they must either challenge Kopp in 1994 or sit idle for two years before running for a vacant 8th District. San Jose Democrats John Vasconcellos and Dom Cortese have terms that end in 1996. That's the same year that term limits end the career of veteran Democrat Al Alquist in the 13th Senate District, where Vasconcellos and Cortese are nested. The Vasconcellos-Cortese equation is complicated by the fact that in 1992 Vasconcellos did Cortese a favor by taking the tougher of two San Jose Assembly districts in order for the more vulnerable Cortese to have an easier re-election ride.




Most nested Assembly members are from the same party. But in seven Senate districts, they are natural rivals. For example, Republican Andrea Seastrand and Democrat Jack O'Connell share the 18th Senate District. Term limits don't end their Assembly careers until 1996, but the 18th District incumbent — Santa Barbara Democrat Gary Hart — already has announced that he will not seek re-election in 1994. It is said that both Seastrand and O'Connell are seriously considering giving up their final Assembly term to challenge for Hart's seat next year.

A slightly different situation faces Richard Katz. He and fellow Democrat Barbara Friedman represent parts of the San Fernando Valley. They may serve until 1996, but their Senate district, the 20th, will be vacated by Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti next year — the first victim of Proposition 140. Do Friedman and Katz give up their final Assembly term to seek Roberti's seat? Friedman says she's thinking about it. Katz is still decompressing from his failed campaign for mayor of Los Angeles, but he considers Roberti's seat an option.

Except in a few cases, the "nesting syndrome" hasn't really kicked in around the Capitol. But many members think it will, eventually.

"Too much is happening ... right now for this to weigh

*Advertisement*

California Journal
SEMINARS
(All programs approved for M C L E)

**More than 4600 people from all over California have taken advantage of our seminars.**

**That's a lot of advantage...**

**for *them.***

***July Programs***

July 7 — Bill Analysis Workshop
July 28 — Lawmaking in California
July 29 — Advocacy and Committee Protocol
July 30 — Bill Tracking and Analysis

***August Programs***

August 4 — Bill Analysis Workshop
August 6 — NEW! Winning Strategies... an advanced seminar on lobbying
August 11 — Administrative Law... how regulations are made... how to be involved.
August 12 — Demystifying the State Budget Process
August 13 — Demystifying the Legislative Process

***September Programs***

September 1 — Bill Analysis Workshop
September 16 — Legislative Process, Bill Tracking and Analysis (Santa Ana)
September 17 — Advocacy and Committee Protocol (Santa Ana)
September 22 — Bill Tracking and Analysis

EASY TO REGISTER...CALL (916)444-2840...MC/VISA or we can bill
Registration fee: $167 (includes lunch and materials)

For ADDITIONAL INFORMATION or to be placed on our mailing list,
*please contact* **ROD TUTTLE** at 916/444-2840, EXT 36


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in," Katz said. "The budget. Workers' comp. Over the summer, people may begin to focus on it. I wouldn't be surprised if it does affect things next year when people begin checking a potential opponent's votes."

"This will cause a problem," said Republican Assemblyman Paul Woodruff of Forest Falls. "You'll see regional fractionalization and a lot of one-upmanship. You'll see members trying to carve out a political niche" at the expense of another member of their own party. "There are some signs this is happening now," he said, "but out of the spotlight. They gradually will come into the spotlight."

**You now have two caucuses in the Assembly but the potential exists to have four caucuses. What you have is a structural impediment to caucus unity.**

**—Jim Brulte**

Several members indicated that an obvious battle is shaping up inside the GOP caucus between Paul Horcher and Richard Mountjoy, nested in the 29th Senate District now held by Republican Frank Hill. All three are terminal in 1996. Their rivalry is complicated by internal caucus politics, especially Horcher's acceptance of a Ways and Means Committee vice chairmanship that his fellow Republicans agreed should have gone to Stockton Assemblyman Dean Andal. Although the appointment poisoned Horcher's relationship with the entire caucus, observers point out that Mountjoy has been the lead Horcher-basher.

Other allies who may be on collision courses are:

- Liberal Democrats Tom Bates and Barbara Lee in the 9th District, where longtime Democratic Senator Nick Petris leaves in 1996 — the year Bates' and Lee's terms also end.
- Democrats Richard Polanco and Louis Caldera in the 22nd District. Democrat Herschel Rosenthal serves there until 1998, the year Caldera also runs out of time. Polanco, however, is finished in 1996. Does he challenge Rosenthal in 1994?
- Democrats Terry Friedman and Burt Margolin in the 23rd District, where either or both of them could challenge incumbent Democrat Tom Hayden in 1996. Hayden would still have one more term to serve.
- Los Angeles Democrats Gwen Moore and Marguerite Archie-Hudson in the 26th District, where incumbent Democrat Charles Calderon must vacate in 1998.
- Democrats Debra Bowen of Venice and Juanita McDonald of Long Beach in the 28th District. Term limits oust them the same year that 28th District incumbent Diane Watson of Los Angeles must leave.
- East Los Angeles Democrats Martha Escutia and Grace Napolitano in the 30th District, where Democrat Ralph Dills leaves the same year that term limits claim both Escutia and Napolitano.
- Republicans Brulte and Woodruff in the 31st District. They're terminated the same year that incumbent 31st District Republican Bill Leonard leaves office. Woodruff has said he's not interested in the Senate, however.
- Orange County Republicans Doris Allen and Gil Ferguson in the 35th District, where they are forced from office the same year that incumbent GOP Senator Marian Bergeson leaves.
- Democrats Tom Connolly and Steve Peace in San Diego's 40th Senate district, now represented by Democrat Waddie Deddeh. Deddeh and Connolly have terms that run until 1998. Peace, on the other hand, has a term that expires in 1996. Does he challenge Deddeh in 1994?

Some observers feel that the tension and rivalries produced by nesting may be good for California, even as it makes life tougher for lawmakers.

"People are going to have to be very careful when they vote on a bill," said one member. "They're going to have to vote in the interest of their districts. They should do this anyway, but a lot of them don't. But with another member ready to stick every vote down your throat, you'll vote with your district."

Minority Leader Brulte thinks there will be another big winner, as well. "The real result of all this," he said, "will be a shift of power to the Senate." Assembly speakers, he argued, might serve only two years and be unable to consolidate power — a situation that could foster bipartisan cooperation in the lower house. "The Assembly will be the minor leagues," he warned. "In the Senate, the pro tem will be there for six years and will become much more powerful than the speaker."

And what will the Assembly be like as the calendar closes in on 1996 and members face political mortality?

"Check the Balkans," said one member.

*Advertisement*

**The Competitive Edge-**

**A degree in public administration, business, management or law from Golden Gate University**

**For the convenience of working adults, Golden Gate University offers:**

- evening and weekend classes
- classes taught by accomplished scholars and top business professionals
- degree programs in many career fields leading to bachelor's, master's and law degrees
- convenient locations in Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area

**Sacramento**
**916/648-1446**

**Bay Area Locations**
**415/442-7800**

GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY · FOUNDED IN 1901

*Golden Gate University, a private, nonprofit institution of higher education founded in San Francisco in 1901, is accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

# CALIFORNIA JOURNAL 1993 ROSTERS

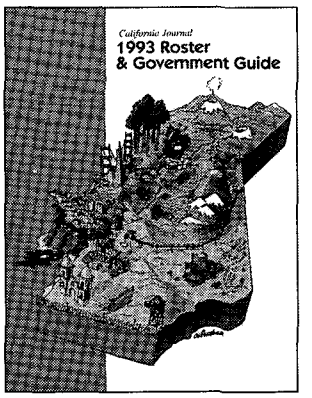
## CALIFORNIA JOURNAL ROSTER
## 1993 POCKET EDITION

This handy 3 1/2" x 6" Pocket **Roster** makes it possible to carry a full state government information access system in your pocket or purse. The Pocket **Roster** contains everything in the Roster (above) plus brief biographical information, district descriptions, select and special committees, offices and caucuses of the legislature, top executive department staff and much more.

Prices:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1-4 copies | $9.95 | 5-24 copies | $8.95 |
| 25-49 copies | $8.45 | 50 + copies | $7.95 |

**Please add 7.75 % sales tax and 2.75 shipping to all orders.**




*California Journal's* best-selling publication, the Roster and Government Guide has been completely revised for 1993. The Roster is 8 1/2 x 11", 28 pages long and contains the name, address, telephone number, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and Congress plus Constitutional officers, state departments and boards. More than 170 photos are included of all elected and top appointed officials, plus the legislative process chart, legislative committee memberships and more.

Price: 100 or more copies, 59 cents each; 50-99 copies, 99 cents each; 3-49 copies, $1.75 each; 1 or 2 copies, $2.95 each. Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 shipping to all orders.

advertisement

AVAILABLE NOW!

# 1993 Roster on Diskette

**ALL NEW FOR 1993**, the California Roster on Diskette program provides IBM-compatible users with a friendly program for working with complete lists of appointed and elected state officials. You can easily create customized form letters without using a word processor. Print mailing labels and other reports with a few keystrokes. Export selected data to your word processor, spreadsheet, or database program. An optional module allows you to fax customized letters using a computer fax/modem.

THE CALIFORNIA ROSTER ON DISKETTE program contains: State Senate and Assembly, California's Congressional delegation, state Legislative Committees, state Departments and Boards, and state Constitutional Officers.

THE PROGRAM IS AVAILABLE in 3 1/2" and 5 1/4" disk formats. Requires IBM compatible computer with 3MB hard disk space and 640K RAM. Will run under Windows 3.1.

| | |
|---|---|
| **California Roster on Diskette program** | **$79.00** |
| Demo Disk (applies to purchase, free shipping) | 5.00 |
| Updates (anytime for a year, each) | 10.00 |
| Fax Module | 49.00 |
| Fax Boards: Intel SatisFAXion 400 internal, 14.4 KB baud modem/ 9600 fax | 499.00 |
| Intel SatisFAXion 400 external, 14.4 KB baud modem/ 9600 fax | 499.00 |
| Intel SatisFAXion 200 internal, 2400 Baud modem/9600/ 4800 fax | 369.00 |
| Fax module with purchase of fax board | 20.00 |

Add 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 shipping/handling to all orders.

To place order or for more information, call or write:
California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave.
Sacramento, CA 95814
916/444-2840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LEGISLATIVE GRIDLOCK

## California isn't the only place where the Legislature has trouble getting things done

**by Steve Scott and Tim Ramsden**

Portrait of a state government in crisis: Explosive population growth, a flood of new immigrants, a makeshift tax code and a smattering of natural disasters plunges the state into a fiscal crisis. The governor proposes mixing tax increases with spending cuts in an effort to meet the crisis head-on. A hue and cry arises from members of his own party, and political opponents cluck with glee at a broken campaign promise. State lawmakers wrestle with the budget for months, missing their constitutional deadline and making themselves the targets of talk-show barbs and critical editorials. Eventually, the budget is passed, but not before the Legislature suffers an institutional black eye and the governor sees his poll ratings plummet and his political future all but dismissed.

Sound familiar?

Welcome to the world of *Florida* state politics.

With last year's excruciating 64-day budget deadlock still fresh in their minds, Californians have come to believe

---

*Steve Scott is editor and Tim Ramsden a reporter for* State Capitols Report.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they hold the patent on political gridlock and legislative ineffectiveness. But in truth, California is one of many states where harsh realities run headlong into ideological intransigence — especially when it comes to budget matters. Personality conflicts, partisan squabbles, intra-party battles, and simple philosophical disagreements are deadlocking statehouses across the nation. Moreover, the battles themselves have become nastier and more personal, even in states where one party holds both the legislative majorities and the governor's office.

"Part of it is just the intractability of the problems," says Alan Rosenthal, political science professor and director of Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute. "I don't think anybody is confident as to how to solve them, and there's disagreement on which way to go."

> **You have every right to be depressed about your Legislature. I'm 3000 miles away, and I'm depressed about it.**
>
> **– Alan Rosenthal**

How bad is it? Consider a few examples from just the last month or two:

- Voting as a bloc, minority Republicans in Texas turned aside every effort to equalize school funding, despite a judge's threat to close the state's entire school system. A failed three-week special session was followed by a failed statewide referendum on the subject, and a solution was finally agreed to only days before the judge's order to close the schools was to take effect.
- Angered by Governor Arne Carlson's veto of $6 billion in higher education and health services, the majority Democratic Farm Labor Party (i.e., Democrats) in the Minnesota Legislature jammed up the budget, forcing the state's first special session in four years. Independent-Republican (GOP) Governor Carlson vetoed the bills to protect the state's reserve fund.
- In New York, the Legislature and Governor Mario Cuomo again failed to approve a budget before their April 1st deadline, continuing an unbroken string of budget failures that extends back nine years. Cuomo and lawmakers spent a lot of time congratulating themselves for only being four days late this time.
- Indiana Republicans vowed to hold up the budget into the new fiscal year rather than vote for tax increases that Democratic Governor Evan Bayh says are needed to close a huge Medicaid funding gap. As a result, Indiana's two-year budget was forced into a special session for the fourth straight time.
- In Rhode Island, a light-hearted debate over the naming of an official state drink turned into a 90-minute battle, with one lawmaker being accused of illegal conflicts of interest and other lawmakers being labeled "hypocrites" and "stupid." The debate droned on so long that the final vote on the seemingly innocuous measure had to be put off for a week to let tempers cool.

Why are so many legislatures "houses divided among themselves?" What are the forces that lead to political gridlock? And do Californians have any more reason to be pessimistic about their state government than residents of other states?

The first place to look for gridlock is anywhere there's divided government; that is, where the executive and at least one house of the legislature are controlled by different political parties. Thirty states have some form of division in their government, and finding things to argue about is never very hard. Often, a governor takes on the whole legislature; in other cases, the House opposes the Senate or two entities gang up on the third. As in a marriage, money — or lack of it — is usually the issue that divides otherwise amicable partners. Even in the tiniest caucuses, government is a numbers game. When one angry faction realizes that it has sufficient numbers to slow down the whole vehicle by dragging its feet, it becomes motivated.

"There are examples where [divided government] works," says Alan Ehrenhalt, executive editor of *Governing* magazine, "[but] it's not the norm. The norm is for trouble."

As tempting as it is to blame a multitude of problems on divided government, however, it's not that simple. United government hasn't prevented blistering legislative battles in Texas over school funding and gun control. Arizona has a GOP governor and legislature, yet its recently completed session will spawn at least two specials and was generally chided for doing little of substance. In West Virginia, there are barely enough Republicans in the Legislature to have a decent game of football, yet just about every significant issue facing the state was pushed back into a special session because Democrats couldn't agree with a governor of their own party.

No, partisan politics is only the most visible ingredient in a cauldron of ills that simmered throughout the 1980s and is boiling over in many states in the 1990s. For one thing, states just don't have a lot of money to spend these days. The disintegration of the economy has shrunk state tax bases and drained reserve funds, forcing policy- makers to retreat from a spending spree that extended throughout most of the '80s.

"One way not to have gridlock is to buy your way out of it," notes Rosenthal. "The way to do that is with economic growth. There aren't many states experiencing that kind of growth right now."

That's something of an understatement. A number of states are facing their deepest fiscal crises since the Great Depression, and legislatures and governors have been forced not only to slash spending, but to take the politically unpalatable step of raising taxes. The reaction from voters hasn't been pretty, and Pete Wilson is far from the only governor with a horror story to tell. Just ask New Jersey Governor Jim Florio.

New Jersey hit its fiscal brick wall a year earlier than California, and in his first year as governor (1990), Democrat Florio faced a deficit and a crumbling state infrastructure. Like Wilson, Florio sought to address the gap with a record


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax increase; in his case, $2.8 billion. By November 1991, Florio's approval rating was at 18 percent, Republicans had gained veto-proof control of the Legislature, and the shock waves nearly unseated Democratic U.S. Senator Bill Bradley.

"It was more than the tax increase, it was the timing," says Steven Fromm, statehouse reporter for *The Times* in Trenton. "We all woke up from the '80's hangover and nobody wanted to admit that the fat times were over."

If it was simply a problem of dollars and cents, it would be hard enough. But as budgets were getting smaller, the problems facing states were getting bigger. Challenges such as AIDS, homelessness, defense conversion, plant closures and immigration have caused welfare, health and education caseloads to balloon far beyond levels imagined possible when programs such as Medicaid and AFDC were conceived.

Here again, California is not alone. As described above, Florida also faces dramatic population growth, an immigration explosion and the wrenching pain of economic downsizing. Without a state income tax, Florida must rely largely on sales and corporate taxes to fund its services, and when the recession hit, the sun started setting on the Sunshine State.

"Florida is perilously close to financial critical-mass," warns Tom Kehoe, state editor for the central Florida newspaper *Florida Today*. "We are extraordinarily dependent on tourism. When tourism falls, the sales tax falls and we all have to tighten our belts real tight."

This tension between dwindling resources and growing need has placed many legislatures at a crossroads, forcing them to explore more basic questions about just what services government should be providing. "Legislatures are clearly examining what it is that government should do and how it can do it more effectively," notes William Pound, executive director of the National Conference of State Legislatures.

In an ideal world, this debate would lean heavily on compromises forged in a pragmatic middle. More often, however, what develops is an ideological holy war, pitting those who believe government is a cure-all against those who view it as "the Great Satan."

"Somewhere, not only our leaders but our citizens lost an understanding of ... the common good," reflects Sherry Bebich-Jeffe, senior associate at Claremont College's Institute on Politics and Policy. "Society is balkanized and fragmented, and you see that in the legislative process. It should not be surprising."

Aggravating these macro questions are a host of other annoyances that have further complicated the lives of many state legislators. In the last decade, interest groups have mushroomed both in number and in effectiveness. "They're much better organized, they've got better lobbyists, and they use the media to a better advantage," says the Eagleton Institute's Rosenthal.

The specter of scandal also hangs more heavily over state government these days. This year alone saw felony corruption convictions handed down against a governor (Alabama's Guy Hunt), a House speaker (Kentucky's Don Blanford) and a state superintendent of public instruction

*Advertisement*

**NOSSAMAN, GUTHNER, KNOX & ELLIOTT**

is pleased to announce that

**DOUGLAS J. MALONEY**

Former Marin County Counsel and the Senior County Counsel in California

Has joined the Firm as a Partner in the San Francisco Office.

Mr. Maloney will practice in the areas of Public Finance, Municipal Law, Land Use, Environmental Regulation, Trial and Appellate Litigation and Administrative and Legislative Law. His expertise will be available to all firm offices.

**50 California Street**
**San Francisco, CA 94111**
**(415) 398-3600**

445 South Figueroa Street
Los Angeles, CA 90071
(213) 612-7800

18101 Von Karman Avenue
Irvine, CA 92715
(714) 833-7800

1227 25th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 223-9100

915 L Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 442-8888

As previously announced, Stephen G. Melikian is our new partner in the Firm's Public Finance Group.

**July 1, 1993**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(California's Bill Honig). These scandals have further fueled the already rampant "anti-government" mood, causing legislators to think less about problem-solving and more about posturing.

"What's unhealthy is the inability of legislators to risk office in order to do what has to be done," laments Rosenthal. "They've just got to be willing to go out on a limb more than they do."

With all of this working against the modern legislature, some may question how any of them can avoid hopeless gridlock. Yet, all passed their budgets before the beginning of the new fiscal year; all, that is, except California. Why does it seem so much harder to reach political consensus here than in other states with similar political divisions?

Well, it seems harder because it *is* harder. "You have all of the problems that the hardest hit and most politically divided states suffer from," notes *Governing's* Ehrenhalt, "and you've thrown in others of your own making."

High on the list of aggravating factors for California is the two-thirds-vote requirement for passage of a state budget. "Anytime you've got to have an extraordinary majority, it puts you at the mercy of the minority," says Pound. The minority in California's case is the Assembly Republican caucus, which has historically evidenced more interest in ideological purity than in compromise. "Quite a bit [of the blame for gridlock] goes to [Assembly Speaker] Willie Brown, to some degree to Wilson, and to a great degree, the Assembly Republican 'cavemen,'" says Bebich Jeffe.

Fiscal gridlock also gets an extra shove from the myriad of voter-imposed budget and tax restrictions: Proposition 13, Proposition 4, Proposition 98, *ad infinitum*. "Ballot-box budgeting is the worst imaginable evil," says Ehrenhalt. "It asks people to make budget decisions in which they do not have to pay for their choices."

As if faltering institutions don't pose enough of a burden, California policy-makers also have the added challenge of being asked to govern a state that many consider ungovernable. "When other states were in our [budget] situation, it was difficult for them to do policy," says Bebich Jeffe. "But it's *us* now, and we're bigger and more complex and ... that makes things even more intractable."

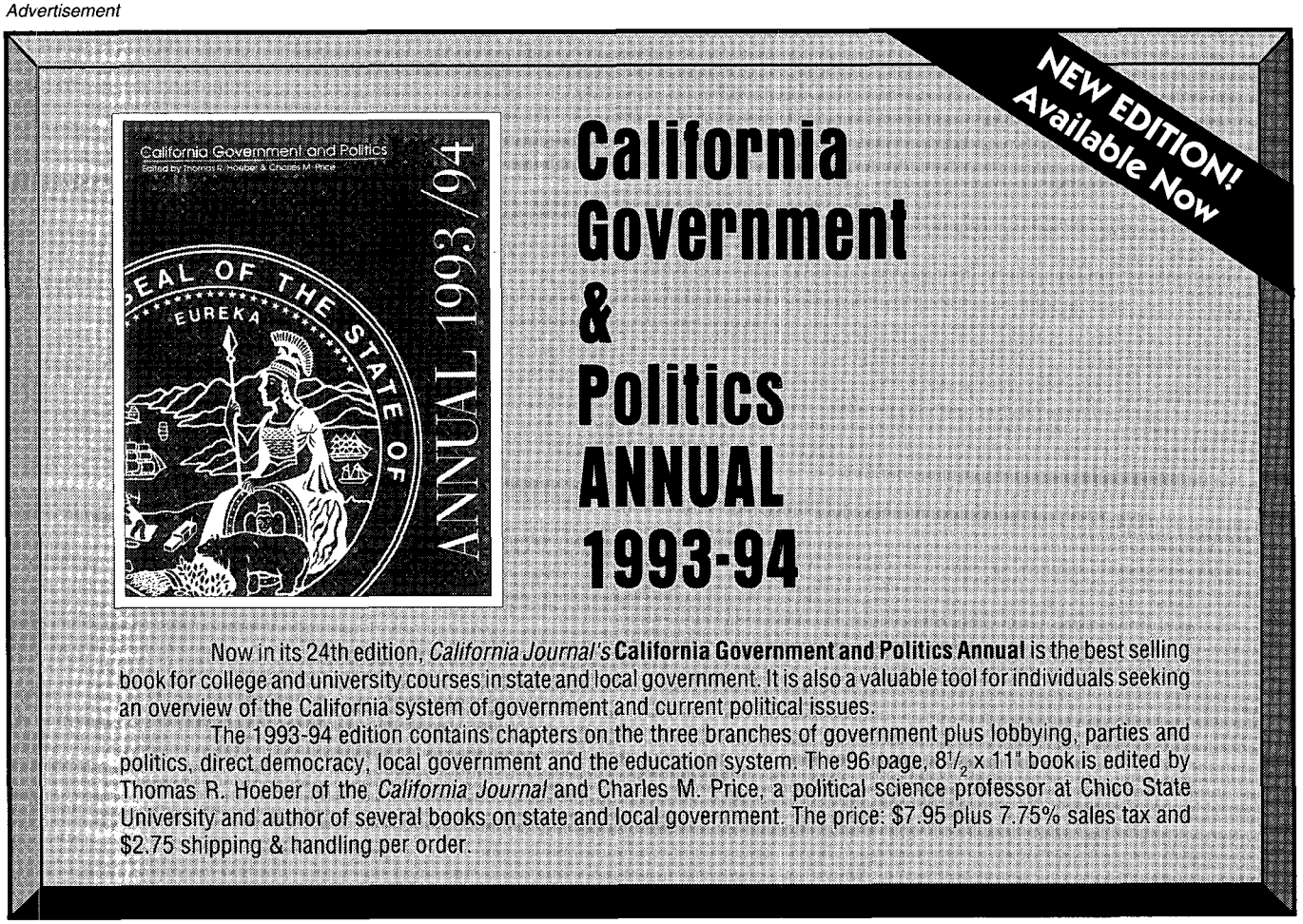
If you've gotten this far, you're probably about ready to put your head in the oven, turn on the gas and be done with it. Well, don't do it — not yet, anyway. The governmental storm clouds hovering over the state and the nation are flecked with a silver lining or two.

"In many legislatures, you are seeing a real quest for efficiency," insists NCSL's Pound. "It may lead us in somewhat different directions than perhaps we've been going over time [and toward] saying that we ought to experiment with alternatives."

Rosenthal is even more forgiving. "Probably no legislature deserves as much scorn as it gets," he muses. But even with the benefit of the doubt, many still see California in a class by itself.

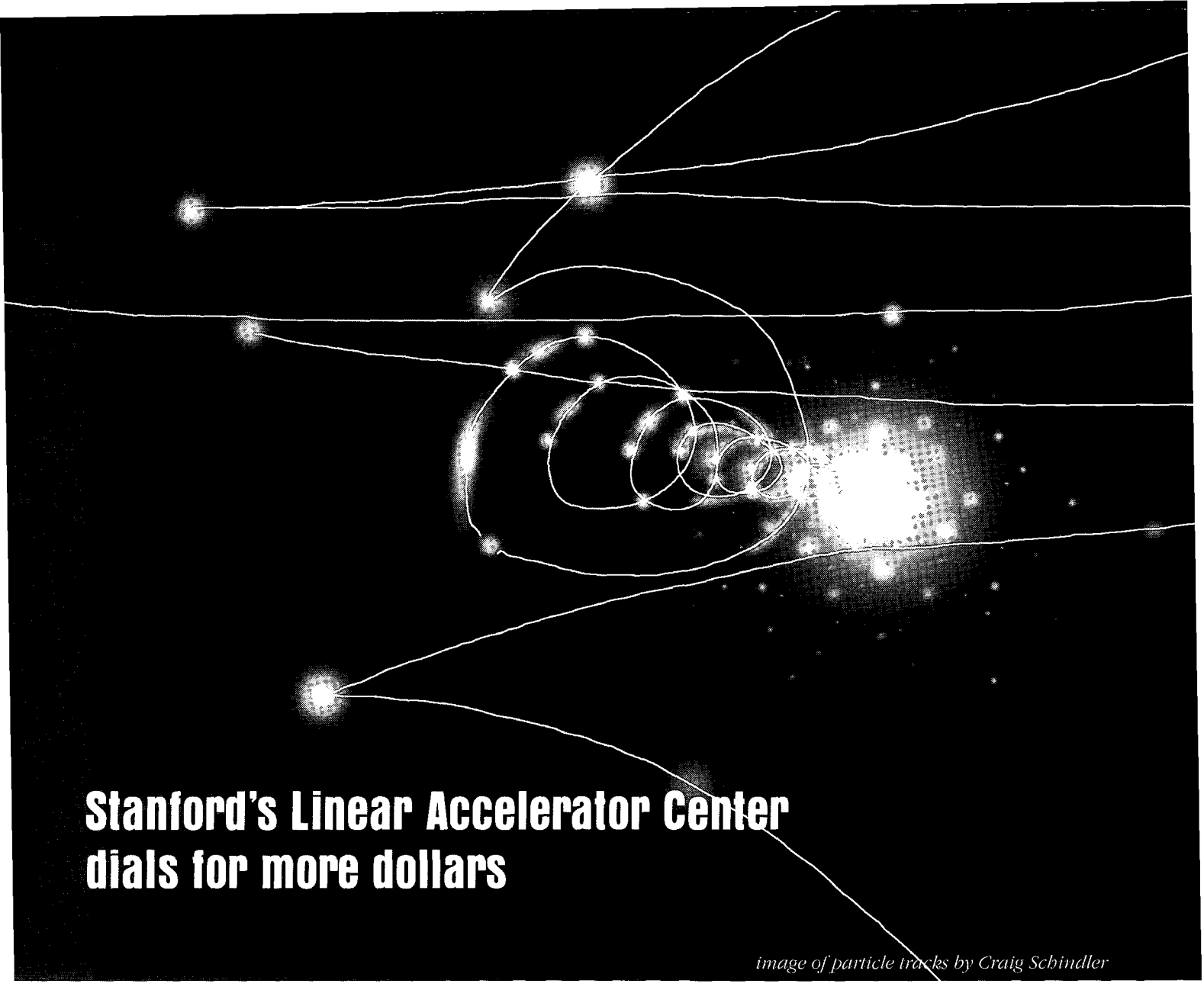
"You have every right to be depressed about your Legislature," sighs Rosenthal. "I'm 3000 miles away, and I'm depressed about it."

*Advertisement*


NEW EDITION!
Available Now
California Government and Politics
Edited by Thomas R. Hoeber & Charles M. Price
SEAL OF THE STATE OF
EUREKA
ANNUAL 1993/94
California Government & Politics ANNUAL 1993-94
Now in its 24th edition, California Journal's California Government and Politics Annual is the best selling book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.
The 1993-94 edition contains chapters on the three branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, direct democracy, local government and the education system. The 96 page, 8 1/2 x 11" book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the California Journal and Charles M. Price, a political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $7.95 plus 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 shipping & handling per order.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# Stanford's Linear Accelerator Center dials for more dollars

*image of particle tracks by Craig Schindler*

**In recent years, California was the big loser when it came to high-tech investment. Now, another project is on the table. Will the Golden State's reputation tarnish once again?**

**By Laura A. Locke**

Why are we here?

It's a mystery that particle physicists world-wide are clamoring to solve. The universe was born after a cataclysmic "bang" that created both matter and anti-matter, yet somehow matter predominated. What happened? And, why does it *matter*?

The fate of The Stanford Linear Accelerator Center (SLAC) is intricately tied to obtaining the answer to this perplexing question — as is sustaining the future of California's high-tech competiveness, according to scientists, politicians and business leaders. To remain on the cutting edge of high-energy physics research, SLAC officials assert that their facility must proceed with a new construction project called the Asymetric B-Factory — the world's first electron-positron collider, where electrons and positrons circulate with unequal energies. That's high-energy physics, dealing with the smallest elements of particles at the highest possible speeds.

"It is *the* key for SLAC to remain a vital center for research in high-energy physics during the next century," said Michael Riordan, assistant to the director at SLAC.

SLAC scientists originated the B-Factory proposal back in 1989 and, until recently, seemed assured of obtaining the $200 million needed to build the project from the U.S. Department of Energy. But recent events have made the project less certain. Most significant, Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, also is vying for



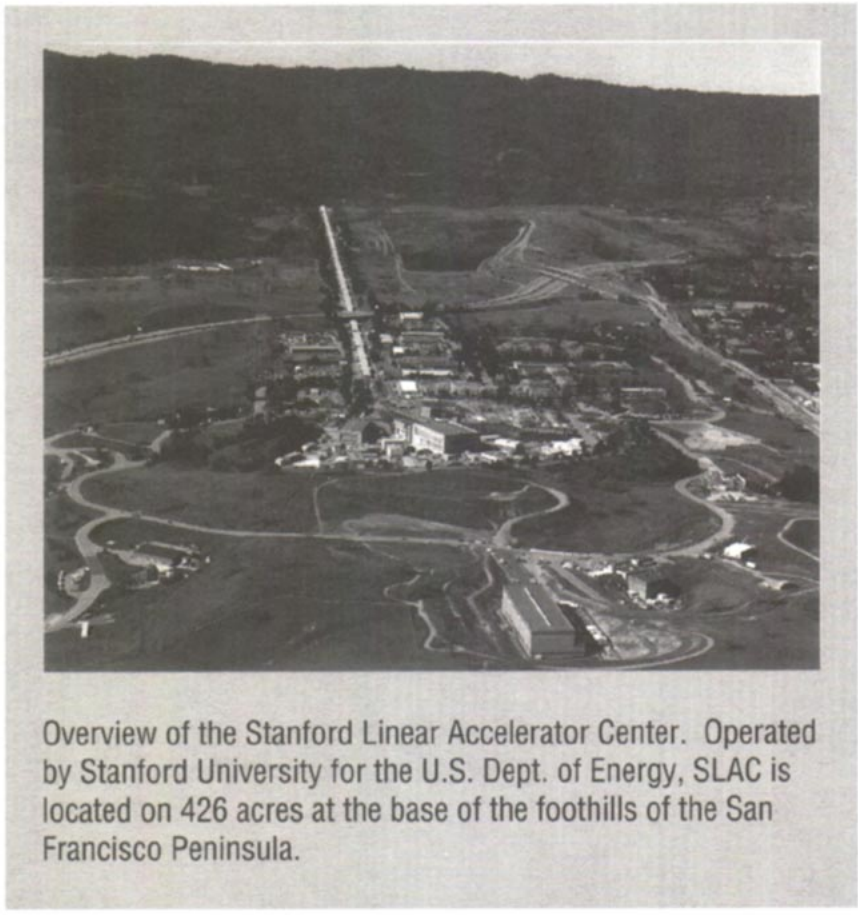
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the B-Factory, and there are not enough federal funds available to build two of them. The Clinton administration has designated $36 million in start-up money in its budget — not exactly big money as far as major science projects go, but high-energy physics has been exceedingly strapped for cash in recent years. Most of the money for physics research has gone to fund Fermilab in Illinois and the $8 billion Superconducting Supercollider earmarked for Texas.

Politically, SLAC's scramble to save its B-Factory has united the often-fractious California congressional delegation, as well as gained the support of Governor Pete Wilson. All are aware that the state's ability to attract high-technology and electronics projects has slipped in recent years. In 1988, for instance, California suffered two huge technology losses to Texas — the Supercollider and the private $250-million-a-year Sematech semiconductor research consortium.

The loss of the B-Factory would be "a big slip down the slope" for California, said Pat Fulton, SLAC's lobbyist in Washington, D.C. "SLAC is central to the whole evolution of technological culture and strength of California," he said. "It's no accident that Silicon Valley emerged where it did; it's correlated to UC Berkeley and Stanford." Currently, states like Massachusetts, Illinois and Texas are just starting to catch up in technological sophistication to where California was 20 years ago. So, in a sense, "It is inevitable that California will decline," said Fulton. He also blames the erosion of the state's technological base on a lack of political will to fight for projects. "A certain amount of slippage is due to California's own complacency," he said.

"The B-Factory is the future of SLAC," Riordan said. "If we don't get this machine, we're looking at major changes in the way we do business here." Losing the B-Factory would signal drastic changes at SLAC, including budget cuts and layoffs, warned Riordan. He estimates that SLAC could lose 200 to 300 people almost immediately and up to 1000 people over a five-year period. With a $140 million annual budget, SLAC employs 1400 workers. Researchers from Germany, France, Russia and Japan have already demonstrated a strong interest in participating in the B-Factory at SLAC, said Dr. Robert Bell, chief engineer for the project.



Overview of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center. Operated by Stanford University for the U.S. Dept. of Energy, SLAC is located on 426 acres at the base of the foothills of the San Francisco Peninsula.

Founded in 1962, SLAC is a world-renown high-energy physics laboratory funded by the Department of Energy and operated by Stanford University. Its main purpose is to conduct experimental and theoretical high-energy physics and synchrotron radiation research; however, the two-time Nobel Prize-winning facility also has been involved in numerous joint ventures with industry that have benefitted the California economy. Research at SLAC covers a range of areas: biotechnology, semiconductor technology, medical imaging and materials science — much of it with significant implications beyond the arcane realm of physicists.

- Linear accelerators, first invented at Stanford in the 1940s, have been adapted for medical and industrial applications. They are used in medicine to generate x-rays for cancer radiation therapy; to sterilize medical instruments and for ion implantation in semiconductor processing.
- Microwave or "klystron" tubes that produce extremely high power microwave radiation were developed with Varian Associates in Palo Alto. Currently, SLAC is attempting to rejuvenate this $100 million annual industry since Europe and Japan have eclipsed the U.S. lead.
- AIDS research: SLAC is working with UCSF and Syntex Corporation to design a drug to block the replication of the HIV-virus.
- In the area of nuclear waste disposal, a prototype is being designed this summer to examine ways to dispose of the material. SLAC plans to use intense beams of x-rays to extract radiocative elements from plutonium and study methods of safe disposal.
- UC Medical Center in San Francisco and Varian co-developed a computer program called EGS that estimates how much radiation dosage a patient will encounter during the course of therapy. SLAC provides this service free of charge. Approximately 200 persons request this service each year.

California is home to one of only four high-energy physics labs and the only electron collider in the United States — SLAC, which is the state's only remaining large facility for world-class particle physics. Although 426-acre facility is located on Stanford University property, scientists from all nine UC campuses, the California Institute for



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Technology and other research institutions use its resources.

Traditionally, SLAC has functioned as a magnet for high-tech industries, attracting top scientists from all over the world. Without SLAC, an intellectual drain will occur, the state's higher educational system will suffer, and there will be a precipitous loss of technology spin-offs, said Professor Jonathan Dorfan, the B-Factory project leader at SLAC.

"The B-Factory is a collaboration between CalTech, UC and Stanford. That's about the largest swath across the educational institutions as you can get. If we get this project, it means that the faculty gets involved, their students get involved; it means they have a very nice way to attract students to California. And when you attract students into California, you have a very good chance of retaining them," said Dorfan, a native South African who stayed on after studing physics at Stanford.

According to Dorfan, the B-Factory "is very important to the health of the state" because it contributes to one of California's strengths — participation in high-level research by the state's public and private universities. Essentially, Dorfan said, proton machines, accelerator-based high-energy physics, began at UC Berkeley, while electron-based accelerator machines began at Stanford. He indicated that when programs go well at SLAC, those universities and others take in more graduate students in physics. When programs flag, he warned, students go elsewhere.

Dorfan also said that SLAC impacts private enterprise in California by making extremely high demands on technology. "We push them [Silicon Valley] to go faster, smaller, cheaper," he said, referring to commercial applications that occur as a result of the cross-pollination between industry and research at SLAC. Not only that, he said, but the money pumped into the local economy is substantial.

"SLAC gets $140 million to do research ... and about 90 percent of that stays in the greater Bay Area," Dorfan said. In addition, Stanford and SLAC generated a multimillion dollar microwave industry with their development of "klystron" tubes and techniques for transporting electrons. Many SLAC researchers also work as consultants in California firms.

The B-Factory was first proposed to DOE in 1989 by SLAC and two UC labs — Lawrence Berkeley and Lawrence Livermore. Cornell apparently jumped in on the project in March 1993 when New York's Democratic U.S. Senator Daniel Moynihan started pushing consideration for the university's Electron Storage Ring. As a result of lobbying by Moynihan and other members of the New York congressional delegation, DOE set up a competitive review.

Cornell is a much smaller lab, with a $16 million annual budget and 150 employees. Both Cornell and SLAC would have to be upgraded, but each lab argues that it can complete the project cost effectively. Cornell estimates that it can build the machine for $125 million, while SLAC estimates the project to cost $150 million. Dorfan pointed out that it's difficult to compare costs because each proposal accounts for budget items differently.

Some observers have suggested that DOE might shut down SLAC if it doesn't receive the project, although that seems unlikely at this point. "It's a question of how far back our wings get trimmed," said Dorfan. "If the B-Factory were not to come here, there is less justification downstream in the late '90s for keeping big money coming in."

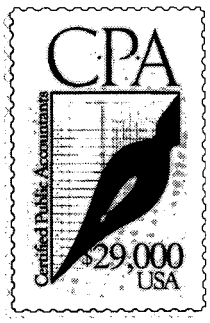
Dr. Robert Eisenstein, director of the physics division at the National Science Foundation, denied that losing the B-Factory will be the ultimate demise of either lab. "The B-Factory is not the gateway to the future," he said, adding, however, that without the new machine, the missions of both labs would probably be less robust.

The director of Cornell's lab, Dr. Karl Berkelman, agreed. "In the long run," he said, "the lab would perhaps ... decline." But he added that the project is not "a matter of life or death."

"It's not a jobs program or a pork barrel, and it shouldn't be thought of that way," Berkelman said. "I don't want anyone to shed any tears if we don't get one." Berkelman emphasized that the project was worth doing on its own merits — not just to benefit the future of New York State or his lab.

The B-Factory itself gained political momentum when the California Council on Science and Technology recommended it to the Wilson administration in 1991 and encouraged the state to compete for it. Estimating that it could be built in less than four years for

Advertisement




**Don't Waste Your Postage Dollars**

Targeted direct mail wins elections AND saves postal dollars.

Below, Tobe & Associates is America's leading targeting specialist and has been at the forefront of segmentation technology since 1971.

Target Below, Tobe for your next label, list or personalized direct mailer. Nothing beats the Below, Tobe edge!

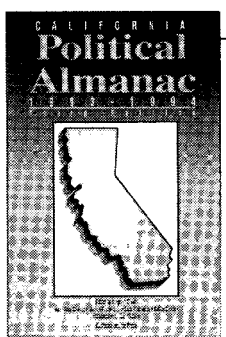
**Below, Tobe & Associates, Inc.**

*Applying computer technology to winning elections since 1971*

**Los Angeles Office**
4745 Alla Rd.
Marina del Rey, CA 90292
310-306-1989

**Washington, DC Office**
801 N. Fairfax St. #211
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-684-3933

Advertisement




**California Political Almanac: $34.95 plus tax**

Biographies, photographs, voting records and district descriptions for every member of the state Senate, Assembly and Congress. Chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government: 550 pages of data and analysis.

California Journal
1714 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento, CA
95814
916/444-2840



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$200 million, the council is seeking a $7.5 million annual contribution from the state during construction. The council is made up of 24 scientists, engineers, academics and business leaders in association with the state's major universities.

Since 1991 the governor has been receptive and has written letters to the White House requesting support for the B-Factory. Meanwhile, SLAC project leaders visited the governor a year ago to urge his support. California's congressional lawmakers have been lobbying the Clinton administration for the B-Factory ever since they learned that a draft of Clinton's budget didn't allocate money for it.

"Up until now, the real focus has been on keeping SLAC going and positioning ourselves to get the B-Factory," but now that Cornell is involved, it will get more political and the priority is "let's get Cornell out of the way," said Mary Silveira in Wilson's Washington office.

An "unusual" show of support from Congress' largest delegation is how Democratic Congressman Norman Minetta of San Jose described the coordinated efforts of the California delegation on behalf of the B-Factory. In early February, Burton Richter, SLAC's director, approached Minetta for assistance. Minetta has worked on other upgrade programs for SLAC over the past 20 years. When he heard that the B-Factory was not in Clinton's budget as expected, the San Jose lawmaker immediately began lobbying for it as a united delegation. "We did a very effective selling job," Minetta said.

Minetta arranged a March 11th meeting with OMB Director Leon Panetta (see story, page 8), attended by, among others, the White House political director and the chairman of the National Economic Council. U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, along with Democrats Anna Eshoo of Atherton and Don Edwards of San Jose, also attended. The California delegation was initially encouraged by the meeting, where the B-Factory was given favorable response — until hopes were dashed by Moynihan's effort on behalf of Cornell.

Minetta downplayed the political fight between the two states. "To some extent, it will be delegation against delegation, but I haven't seen any efforts of the New York delegation to push like California's delegation has," he said.

Both the SLAC and Cornell projects were reviewed late last month by a DOE/National Science Foundation committee, which will submit its report to DOE and to the NFS on July 8th. The NSF is involved because, according to Fulton, although it has acknowledged that it cannot build the project, it wants a voice in determining which facility gets the B-Factory. On July 15th, the Clinton administration is scheduled to award the project to one of the sites. If there is an impasse, then Congress may make the decision through an appropriations bill. Or, it is possible that no decision will be made.

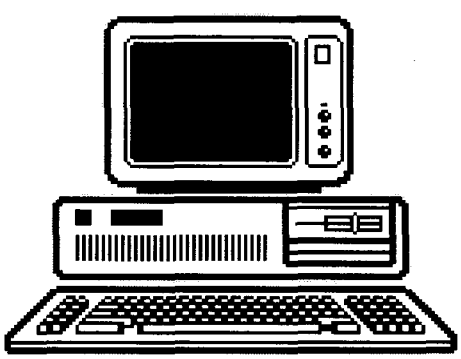
"There's no clear mechanism for making the decision," Fulton said of the murky process. SLAC remains confident, however, that Congress will at least fund one of the proposals.

Knowing the difference between matter and anti-matter is important, Dorfan said, "If it didn't happen, we wouldn't be here."

*Advertisement*

★★★★★★

**state CAPITOLS report**



*State Capitols Report*
is a weekly briefing on news from the 50 state capitals, highlighting the political comings and goings of lawmakers from Maine to Hawaii. Each week, *State Capitols Report* provides an informative and entertaining compendium of notes and quotes, culling information from dozens of publications from all over the country. In addition to inside political news and the latest on budget battles, the newsletter also has the lowdown on the movers and shakers, the latest from the op-ed pages, and an occasional look at the lighter side. *State Capitols Report* offers a unique look at the personalities and the politics behind the legislation.

*State Capitols Report* is a joint production of *California Journal* and State Net, the 50-State legislative and regulatory reporting service.

For more information and a sample copy or a demonstration on-line, call Art Zimmerman at State Net, 916/444-0840.

**The Weekly On-line Briefing from the 50 States**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Voucher initiative, sales taxes on special election ballot

Football metaphors are popular in the world of politics, and there's one which aptly describes Governor Pete Wilson's call for a special election this November: "the quick kick."

A quick kick happens when a team gets so far in a hole on 3rd down that it considers itself better off just punting the ball to the other team. Facing his third consecutive year with a multi-billion dollar deficit, and having been thrown for huge political losses after his first two tries at closing that deficit, Wilson punted.

He announced in May that a November special election was being called to let voters in all 58 counties decide separately whether or not to maintain or increase the current half-cent sales tax, scheduled to expire July 1st. The announcement was made as part of the governor's May budget revision, which also retained a proposal to take $2.6 billion dollars in property tax revenue from the locals — an amount subsequently pared in half by the Legislature.

Supporters and opponents alike have called the election gambit one of the governor's shrewdest tactical moves. Wilson and his political aides have fashioned a scenario that allows the governor not only to avoid direct responsibility for any tax increases, but also lets him sidestep next year's biggest Republican land mine —school vouchers. Legally, the governor couldn't call a special election for local taxes; he had to find a statewide vehicle to hang the election on. School vouchers, having already qualified for the ballot, was the obvious choice.

Vouchers didn't need Wilson's help to become a center of political attention. The measure giving each student in California a $2600 payment for schooling pits a cadre of mostly conservative and neo-Libertarian free enterprise ideologues against the combined political and fund-raising muscle of the entire education community, anchored by the powerful California Teachers Association. An unprecedented CTA-engineered "blocking" campaign kept the initiative from appearing on last November's ballot.

While some of it may be calculated spin control, both sides of the voucher question say they're happy with the governor's special election call.

"We're ecstatic," said Dr. Steven Giufatti, the San Diego physician who co-wrote the measure. "It's those people who know the issue that participate [in special elections]. Seventy percent of the people who know our issue are in favor of it."

"We're anxious for this matter to be placed before the voters because it will only hasten its inevitable defeat," said Charity Webb, president of the California School Boards Association.

Obviously, somebody's in for a rude shock, and the early betting is that the shock will strike supporters of the initiative. The CTA has already hit up its 240,000 members for a $19, one-time dues assessment, with the proceeds dedicated to the anti-voucher campaign. Moreover, the blocking campaign served as a logistical dry run for the grass-roots organizing that will be even more important in a low-turnout special election. In addition, several legislative proposals will appear on the ballot, and one of them allows locals to pass school-bond measures with a simple rather than two-thirds majority. This, too, is an important issue for the education community.

While the opponents already have their cannons loaded, voucher backers finally hired veteran GOP consultant Ken Khachigian in June. There also is the question of money; a lot of the campaign's resources were spent qualifying the initiative, and replenishing the coffers has been slow.

Watching all this maneuvering from a safe distance is the man who set the events in motion — Pete Wilson. To this point, he has taken no position on the voucher plan. Although he insists Wilson could still take a stand, spokesman Dan Schnur says he doesn't now "see any circumstance under which he would take a position on it." Schnur also denies that the governor's political comfort had anything to do with the decision to call the special election.

"From a strict, selfish political standpoint," says Schnur, "it would be in our interest to allow that voucher initiative to take place in June, thus giving [our opponents] less of a chance to re-stock their coffers in advance of a November election."

California taxpayers will have to pony up as much as $30 million to hold the election. Schnur insists the public benefit comes from giving local voters a chance to set their own priorities unfettered by meddling from Sacramento. "Instead of the decisions being made in Sacramento or in the county seats, we're giving the power of decision to the people of California," he said.

According to Roberti, however, any possible benefit pales when compared to the complications created by throwing election-year politics into the mix.

"I don't know what he's doing," Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti said of Wilson. "I just see him making a lot of enemies in an area where he didn't have a lot of enemies to begin with. He must know something I don't know."

*— Steve Scott*

## Three's a charm for Alby

Alby

Conservative Republican Barbara Alby, in her third try for public office, soared to the top of a pack of 17 candidates in a special election held in May in suburban Sacramento's 5th Assembly District. The election was made necessary by the death this past March of Republican B.T. Collins. Ironically, Collins twice defeated Alby in bitter GOP primaries. Alby now faces Democrat Joan Barry — who lost to Collins last November — in a July 27th run-off for the GOP-leaning seat. Alby captured 23 percent of the primary vote, split among nine Republicans, five Democrats, a handful of third-party candidates and an independent. Second place went to Ted Costa of People's Advocate, an ally of the late Paul Gann. Costa, a Republican, got 15 percent, while another Republican, businesswoman Carol Bass, finished third with 13 percent. Republican Clayton Fong, who once worked for former Governor George Deukmejian and had the active support of his old boss, finished a distant fifth.

Barry, the executive director of a non-profit group that serves meals to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seniors, came in fourth with 11 percent. She finished first among five Democrats to make the run off. A Libertarian and an independent also will be in the run-off.

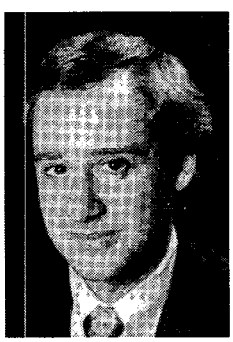
Tuesday's election was the seventh in less than three years for the 5th District. The election series began when then-Assemblyman Tim Leslie, a Republican, won a mid-term election to the state Senate in 1990.

Alby, who ran against Collins in the special election in 1991 and again last November, delayed filing for the seat this time until shortly before the deadine because she said there had been talk among Republicans of a "consensus" candidate acceptable to both conservatives and moderates, and that candidate was not her. But when other Republicans began filing anyway, Alby, 46, decided to jump in. She and husband Dennis own Badger Construction, a cement contracting firm.

Democrats have said they think they have a good shot against someone as conservative as Alby, who in this and in previous races against Collins relied on the support of gun-owner groups; anti-tax crusaders, the Christian right and conservatives such as former state Senator H.L. Richardson and Congressman Robert Dornan. To that end, Democrat Barry ran a low-key primary campaign, husbanding her resources for an assault on Alby come July. Republican candidates, meanwhile, flooded the district with direct mail, some of it on the nasty side. Bass especially was the target of mailers by the conservative California Republican Assembly — a group that supported Alby.

— *Danielle Starkey*

## Lempert plays musical chairs



Lempert

Ted Lempert, the two-term assemblyman whose up-or-out race for Congress last year ended in "out," succeeded the woman who beat him. Lempert won a seat on the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors in a June 8th special election. He thus replaces Anna Eshoo — the candidate who defeated Lempert in the June 1992 Democratic primary in the 14th Congressional District. Eshoo's victory over another San Mateo supervisor — Republican Tom Huening — created the current vacancy.

Normally, supervisorial vacancies are filled by the governor. But San Mateo is a charter county, giving the board of supervisors the option of filling Eshoo's empty chair via a special election. Candidates ran at-large throughout the county, although the winner represents only District 3, which covers the San Mateo coast. The election cost the county between $500,000 and $600,000 and also included a special election to replace Sheriff Leonard Cardoza, who resigned in February.

The campaign itself barely got off the ground, and the reason was Lempert himself. The 31-year-old former lawmaker had five opponents for the nonpartisan office, but three of them had never run for political office. Lempert, meanwhile, had high name recognition throughout the county and claimed the early endorsement of all four current board members and almost all area city council and school board members.

Lempert also far eclipsed his opponents in raising money. He raised over $50,000, while only two other candidates even organized a committee to raise money — R.D. (Bob) Bryant, a retired engineer-businessman; and Jim Bosse, a businessman and school owner. Also running were John Currens, a data processing consultant; Frank Riddell, a service technician; and Nancy Jewell Cross, a transportation systems developer.

Lempert ran his campaign like an legislative race — organizing "events" in each town and city, setting up campaign co-chairs and has doing a lot of telephone and grass-roots work. Several candidate nights drew sparse attendance, and all six candidates never appeared at the same time.

Lempert must run again June 1994, when Eshoo's original term expires. Lempert, a practicing attorney, indicated that at this point he is "committed to serving at the county level," and he intends to run again in next June. Lempert, however, did not rule out the possibility of someday returning to Sacramento. It may be an "opportunity down the road," he said, but we all have to consider term limits, even at the county level.

— *Laura A. Locke*

# *Legislature*

## Knight distributes a racist poem

The poem, distributed to Assembly Republicans in mid-May, may have been the most offensive sliver of verse publicly distributed by a member inside the confines of the state Capitol since the end of World War II. Perhaps, ever. But the man who passed it around, GOP Assemblyman Pete Knight of Palmdale, defended the work — a racist poem about illegal Latino immigrants — to the *Los Angeles Times* as "one person's point of view." At the time, Knight also said he found the poem amusing — remarks which compounded his insult in the eyes of Latino lawmakers.

Knight soon had a change of heart. The day after he distributed the poem, the 62-year-old former Air Force test pilot sent a letter of apology to Democratic Assemblyman Richard Polanco of Los Angeles, chairman of the Legislature's Latino caucus. "This was an unfortunate incident," he wrote Polanco, "that I sincerely regret." According to Polanco's office, Knight also visited every Latino and Latina lawmaker to apologize in person. But in a return letter, Polanco asked Knight to express his regret to the entire house during a subsequent floor session. Knight complied.

The reason for Knight's embarrassment was a five-stanza poem, entitled "I love America." In pidgeon English, it savaged illegal Latino immigrants, referring to them as breeders who live off welfare and think Anglos are dummies. The poem was given to Republicans during a caucus luncheon but not discussed. Apparently, caucus members did not react to it until pressed for their views by the *Times*, which had obtained a copy.

Latino lawmakers, however, were quick to react. Polanco called it "a ridiculous piece of trash."

Republicans, too, told the *Times* that they were offended. "It's poor taste, insulting, outrageous," Assemblyman Charles Quackenbush of Saratoga said, in a remark typical of Republicans.

"It's yet another indication that there is a real problem here in terms of ignorance and understanding of the issue [of immigration], and of the minority agenda," a spokeswoman for


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Polanco said. But she questioned whether Knight's embarrassment and subsequent apology meant that the author's attitudes toward minorities have changed, or merely gone underground. She also wondered why Knight wasn't chastised during the GOP luncheon. "Can you imagine the reaction if such a thing would have happened in the Democratic caucus?" she asked.

*— A.G. Block*

# *Education*

## UC expansion scrapped

The University of California's decision to indefinitely halt plans for a 10th campus in the San Joaquin Valley signals more than a change in development projects for the 125-year-old public university. The decision foreshadows a radically different university and the probable abandonment of the university's commitment to educate all eligible high school graduates.

"The university is destined to become smaller, different and more private," university Vice President William Baker told the Board of Regents last week.

Citing the unparalleled and ongoing state budget crisis, along with additional cuts from the Legislature that threaten the university's closure for spring term next year, UC President Jack Peltason told Regents that there must be "a fundamental rethinking of the University of California's operation and future." This may mean that UC will need to redefine its 30-year commitment set forth in California's Master Plan for Higher Education to educate the top 12.5 percent of all California high school students who apply.

UC is also considering charging tuition as private universities do. Currently, the state pays for instruction while students pay fees designed to cover non-instructional costs. Peltason also said the budget crisis means entire programs and departments will have to be re-evaluated, and only those that are given priority status will remain.

Five years ago, the university adopted a long-range plan to expand existing campuses and to build a 10th new UC campus in the Central Valley to accommodate up to 70,000 additional students expected to enter the system by 2005. The state hasn't provided the money for the university to implement that plan, Peltason said, and the existing nine campuses have been forced to operate with a billion fewer dollars than projected for the past four years.

A UC task force had narrowed the new campus site-selection down to three locales: Academy in Fresno County, Table Mountain in Madera County and Lake Yosemite in Merced County. Since 1989 the three counties have spent millions of dollars trying to lure the university to their respective communities.

Not surprisingly, local reaction to the recent announcement has been a mixture of anger, frustration and disappointment, said Gigi Gibbs, Fresno's UC campus coordinator, who has been working on the project over the past five years. "Everyone here locally was very angry and very disappointed that they would stop this process. ...It's an incredible waste of goodwill and resources," she said. To date, UC has spent $3.8 million on new campus expansion plans, and Fresno County has spent $1 million.

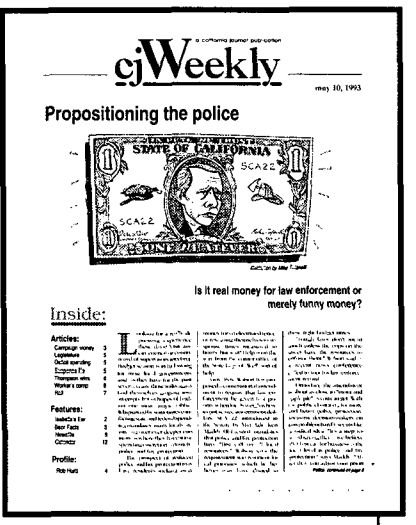
*— Laura A. Locke*


*advertisement*

# New from *California Journal!*

**California Journal WEEKLY** is *the* new newsletter about political life in the nation's largest state. Reported and written by the editors of **California Journal**, it has the feel of a newsletter but the impact of a news magazine. Information now in **CJ's** monthly *NEWSFILE* will be combined with in-depth coverage and analysis from committee hearings, floors of the Legislature, the governor's office and, perhaps most important, the halls of the State Capitol. Also covered are special elections and campaign preparations for 1994.

No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can afford to be without this new, comprehensive, lively and insightful weekly.


cjWeekly

Propositioning the police

Is it real money for law enforcement or merely funny money?

Inside:

With twelve, 8 1/2 x 11 inch pages each week, **California Journal WEEKLY** includes:

- a lead story on an important development, major issue, political brawl or feature of Capitol life;
- news roundup: short reports from committee rooms, the floors of the Senate and Assembly and the governor's "corner office;"
- a gossip column: who's doing what to whom;
- statistic of the week about California or its government;
- profile of the week: public player, behind-the-scenes powerhouse or newcomer on the rise;
- editorial roundup from the state's newspapers;
- voting records: key votes of the week;
- back-of-the-book listings of gubernatorial and legislative appointments, changes in lobbyist registrations and state reports;
- a weekly calendar of events, including fund raisers.

**California Journal WEEKLY** will be mailed First Class each week beginning in April. The price is $295 for 50 issues.

**Special introductory offer:**

If you are a subscriber to **California Journal** and place your order before July 31st, you may take advantage of a special introductory discount:

1 year -- 50 issues -- for $235.00 = **20% off**

Order on the **Journal's** insert card by crossing out the $295 price and writing in the reduced price.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

## The Achtenberg confirmation

Lani Guinier, whose provocative writings doomed her nomination to head the Justice Department's civil rights division, may be remembered as another in a string of political disasters that emerged from President Clinton's appointments process. But Guinier's undoing overshadowed Clinton's ground- breaking success in winning confirmation for San Francisco's Roberta Achtenberg.

Achtenberg, a member of San Francisco's Board of Supervisors, was confirmed by the Senate, 58-31, on May 24th as assistant secretary in charge of civil rights at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Ground was broken because she is a lesbian — and the first openly gay official ever confirmed for a senior-level administration post.

The Supreme Court is not the only institution in Washington that is obsessed with precedent. The painfully cautious politicians in Congress prefer to stick with the tried-and-true whenever possible. But once they have been coaxed or coerced into doing something new, that becomes a precedent they follow just as comfortably. Thus, the next gay or lesbian nominee for a senior position may merely be "another Achtenberg" to the habit-bound creatures of the Senate.

And Achtenberg's nomination produced a bipartisan consensus in Congress that no one should be barred from a government position solely because of their sexual orientation. That was hardly the intention of Republican Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina when he decided to stage one of his legendary floor conservative fights against Achtenberg's nomination.

Before the Senate debate, Helms told a *Washington Post* reporter that he had no intention of permitting a "damn lesbian" to win confirmation, although he later said he couldn't remember having used the swear word. The senator said on the Senate floor that the "homosexual lobby" had pulled all of its political strings "to confirm the Achtenberg nomination and for the first time in history install into the federal bureaucracy a militantly activist lesbian. ...The truth is that the homosexual/lesbian movement bought the Achtenberg nomination. Homosexuals and lesbians laid over $5 million, they say, into the hands of the Clinton presidential campaign in 1992."

But not even Helms attempted to rely on his own conviction that Achtenberg should be disqualified solely because she was a lesbian. "My opposition is not merely because the nominee is a lesbian," he said. "It is because she has been a militant activist, demanding that society accept as normal — as normal — a lifestyle that most of the world's religions consider immoral and which the average American voter instinctively finds repulsive. ...She is pushy, demeaning, demanding; she is a mean person."

By this account, Achtenberg had proven herself the scourge of everything that is clean, decent God-fearing and traditional — namely, the Boy Scouts. As a San Francisco supervisor and as a board member of the city's United Way, Achtenberg had been a leader in an effort to force the scouts to drop its ban on gays as scouts and leaders. "The record is one of intolerance, discrimination and vendetta against those who do not share her values and beliefs," said Republican Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi at the start of a three-day Senate floor debate. "Roberta Achtenberg used her public position to threaten and extort any corporation that would have the audacity to support the Boy Scouts. As a supervisor, she introduced a resolution urging the city of San Francisco to sever its ties with the Bank of America because the Bank of America resumed its funding to the 'dreaded' Boy Scouts."

Achtenberg's defenders dismissed the Boy Scout debate as a diversion. California's Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein portrayed Achtenberg as "a sound, stable person" who had joined dozens of staid San Francisco corporate leaders in a United Way board decision to stop funding the scouts.

The debate also provided California's other senator, Barbara Boxer, a first chance to take on Helms. In her election campaign last year, Boxer often urged her delighted feminist supporters to picture her telling off Helms on the floor of the Senate (although Boxer had imagined the issue would be abortion rather than gay rights). Boxer denounced those who had "maligned" Achtenberg and ridiculed them for portraying her as an anti-Scout radical. "My son was a Cub Scout," Boxer added. "My daughter was a Blue Bird. I think I sewed on more patches for their uniforms than any senator in this chamber. I even baked cookies, and they were not very good."

In the end, Achtenberg was confirmed. Significantly, she won the support of some centrist Democrats who have been chiding Clinton for drifting leftward on social issues. She was endorsed by Al From, president of the ragingly moderate Democratic Leadership Council, who had served with her last year on the Democratic convention's platform committee. And Senator Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat who has led the fight against Clinton's pledge to lift the military's ban on gays, cast a vote for Achtenberg.

Equally significant, even most of her opponents grudgingly put on the record for the first time the Senate's consensus that sexual orientation alone should not be a bar to confirmation of a presidential appointee. "I do not quarrel with the statement that in this country lifestyle, however unconventional, is not a bar to office," said Malcolm Wallop, a Republican from Wyoming. "This is not a question about gays or gay-bashing."

Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas attempted to draw a line between tolerance and full acceptance of gay rights. "No doubt about it, we must show respect and tolerance for those among us who happen to be gay," he said. "But showing tolerance and respect should not force us to embrace an ideological agenda that most Americans do not accept."


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A Report On Pharmaceuticals

## What We're Doing To Hold Down The High Cost Of Nursing Home Care.

Source: The Alzheimer's Association

Nursing home care averages over $30,000 a year per patient, while total yearly expenditures are estimated at over $66 billion.

The pharmaceutical industry has 335 medicines in test for diseases that commonly afflict older Americans, including 68 drugs for three major causes of nursing home admissions: loss of mobility, loss of memory, and incontinence. It's part of the industry's $12.6 billion R&D investment in 1993 alone, as we continue efforts to find new medicines that can save lives, eliminate suffering, and dramatically reduce healthcare costs.

America needs this kind of cost containment power.

**PHARMACEUTICALS**
**Saving Lives. Saving Money.**

To find out what pharmaceuticals really contribute to saving lives and health costs, contact The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1100 15th St., N.W., Box CA, Wash., D.C. 20005. 1-800-538-2692.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Here's why the Philip Morris family of companies calls California home.

▲ Philip Morris Operating Companies facilities

* Dollar amounts based on Analysis of Economic Impact for the year ended December 31, 1991.

The Philip Morris family of companies, made up of Kraft General Foods, Inc., Miller Brewing Company and Philip Morris U.S.A., employs 10,235 Californians in 137 facilities located in 85 communities throughout the state.

That means: ▩ $531 million in salaries and benefits ▩ $1.3 billion worth of goods and services purchased in the state, including $370 million worth of agricultural products from California farmers ▩ $909 million in tax revenues generated in California.*

We're proud to call California home.

KRAFT GENERAL FOODS, INC.
MILLER BREWING COMPANY
PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

**SOME PRODUCTS FROM THE PHILIP MORRIS FAMILY OF COMPANIES:** BIRDS EYE Frozen Foods • BREAKSTONE'S Dairy Products • BREYERS Ice Cream/Yogurt • THE BUDGET GOURMET Dinners • BULL'S-EYE Barbecue Sauce • CHEEZ WHIZ Processed Cheese Spread • CLAUSSEN Pickles • COOL WHIP Whipped Topping • COUNTRY TIME Drink Mix • CRYSTAL LIGHT Diet Soft Drink Mix • ENTENMANN'S Cakes • FRUSEN GLÄDJÉ Ice Cream • GENERAL FOODS International Coffees • GOOD SEASONS Salad Dressing Mixes • JELL-O Desserts • KOOL-AID Soft Drink Mix • KRAFT Cheeses • KRAFT Macaroni & Cheese Dinner • LENDER'S Bagels • LIGHT N' LIVELY Yogurt • LOG CABIN Syrups • LOUIS RICH Turkey Products • MARLBORO Cigarettes • MAXWELL HOUSE Coffee • MILLER Beer • MINUTE Rice • MIRACLE WHIP Salad Dressing • OROWEAT Baked Goods • OSCAR MAYER Foods • PARKAY Margarine • PHILADELPHIA Cream Cheese • POLLY-O Dairy Products • POST Cereals • SANKA Decaffeinated Coffee • SEALTEST Ice Cream/Frozen Dessert • SEVEN SEAS Dressings • SHAKE 'N BAKE Seasoned Coating Mix • STOVE TOP Stuffing Mix • TANG Beverages • TOBLERONE Chocolates • TOMBSTONE Pizza • YUBAN Coffee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED